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ART. I.—*Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes avant L'Islamisme, Pendant L'Epoque de Mahomet, et jusqu'à la réduction de toutes les tribus sous la loi Musulmane. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval, Professeur d'Arabe au Collège Royal de France. Trois Tomes. Paris, 1847—1848.*

M. CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL has, in these volumes, traced the history of the Arabian tribes and States, from the earliest glimmerings of Mahometan tradition, to the period when the whole were united under the banner of Islam. With inconceivable labour, he has thrown together the multitudinous and often discrepant genealogies, and accounts of individuals and of tribes; collating the several steps of various lines, and noting at what points they meet, and where the tradition of events disproves or corroborates the tradition of names. The result of his investigations is exhibited with great ingenuity and clearness, in fifteen tables or genealogical trees, in which the descent of the chief tribes and most famous personages of the Peninsula is traced up, with the approximate era of each generation, to the most remote period for which tradition furnishes authority. These tables add much to the value of the book, for the general reader, whose mind is bewildered with the maze of collateral families and tribes crossing and re-crossing each other's path.

M. C. de Perceval is intimately acquainted with the native historians of Arabia, and with its early poets, whose evidence is of the most essential value in these investigations. He has pursued his enquiries with much learning and singular research,* and, as it appears to us, with extraordinary success.

The first half of his first volume is devoted to the history of Yemen, brought down to the Mahometan invasion; the second half to the rise of Mecca, and the biography of Mahomet, as far as his flight to Medina. The second volume opens with an extended review of the kingdoms of Hira and the

* It is much to be regretted that M. C. de Perceval's ignorance of German has prevented his availing himself of the valuable treatises bearing on his subject, lately published in that language. (Vol. I., Preface, p. vi.)

Ghassânde dynasty, up to their absorption in the Mahometan Empire ; then of the tribes of Central Arabia ; and, lastly, of Medina. The third volume resumes the history of Mahomet, and brings down the progress of Islam to the Caliphate of Omar, and the submission of ~~all~~ the Arab tribes. The work thus covers the subject ; but the arrangement is bad, and the thread of narration not unfrequently broken.

" Long temps divises en fractions, formant autant d'Etats différents, de petites Républiques, ou de hordes ennemis les unes des autres, les Arabes sont rassemblés en corps par Mahomet, et l'unité de la nation achève de se constituer sous Omar. Tel est, en résumé, le sujet que j'ai essayé de traiter."* In short, the grand object of the work is to trace the process by which the independent and hostile fragments of Arabia became one great and irresistible nation.

We are not aware that the mass of information presented by M. C. de Perceval, in his first two volumes, is anywhere available to the English reader ; and we purpose, therefore, to throw it together in as brief a form as may be possible. The reader, to whom the subject is uninviting, now fully forewarned of the nature of what follows, will be able, without farther enquiry, to pass on to a more congenial article ; while from those to whom the History of Arabia is one of interest and attraction, we hope to obtain a patient hearing, and pardon for the prolixity, which the detail necessary in such an enquiry may involve.

Arabia is commonly described as a triangular continent, having a right angle at Bâb al Mandeb ; but it is more natural and convenient to consider it as an irregular parallelogram, approaching to rectangular, which (if we detach the province of Omân, projecting towards Persia) it will be found to resemble. A line drawn along the Euphrates, from a point above the ancient Babylon, and skirting the southern shore of the Persian Gulph and the boundary of Omân, till it meets the Indian Ocean, will give the eastern side of our figure : and the corresponding parallel on the west runs from Suez, or from Al Arish on the Mediterranean, to the straits of Bâb al Mandeb. Each of these lines stretches over about eighteen degrees of latitude, and extends for a length of 1,300, or 1,400 miles. The northern side, again, is formed by a line drawn from Suez in a north-westerly direction, till it meets the Euphrates, a distance of about 600 miles, and forms the ill-defined boundary

contested between the roving tribes of Arabia, and the sedentary inhabitants of Syria. The southern parallel is the shore washed by the Indian Ocean. The length of this parallelogram lies diagonally across the meridian; and it is broader at the south-western extremity, than on the opposite side, where the Euphrates, by its western bend, narrows the Syrian confine.

Along the western line, washed in nearly its whole extent by the Red Sea, runs a chain of lofty mountains. These take their rise in Syria, and forming the high land to the east of the Dead Sea, sweep south to Mount Sinai, and thence to the straits of Bâb al Mandeb, where they dip into the Indian Ocean, to re-appear on the shores of Africa. The range follows closely the line of the coast, from whence the mariner sees its repulsive rocks of reddish sandstone and porphyry, at times pressing near enough to be laved by the waters of the Red Sea, and at times receding, so as to form a broad margin of low land. The latter is styled the Tehâma.

From the centre of this great chain, is thrown off at right angles a mountain range called the Jebel Ared, which traverses the Peninsula parallel with its northern and southern boundaries. It runs from Tâyif in the vicinity of Mecca, towards Derâyeh and the Persian Gulph, and thus divides Arabia into two equal halves. Another chain, the Jebel Shammâr, runs east and west between the gulph of Akaba and the mouth of the Euphrates; and a third unites the eastern portions of both the lateral ranges. The space between these mountains is comprised in the district of Najd, and forms a vast expanse of lofty country, which abuts upon the grand chain of the Red Sea, and slopes downwards towards the Persian Gulph.

Between Najd and the Red Sea lies the mountainous region of the Hejâz,* which includes both Medina and Mecca. The main longitudinal range lies here far back from the coast, at a distance perhaps of 100 miles, and is in some places of great elevation; but the interval is filled with mountain chains rising from the shore, one above another, with alternate vales or *Wâdies*, until the granite-crested peaks of the chief range overtop the whole. Here the weary traveller, who has toiled up the ascent, finds to his surprise that, instead of a similar declivity on the other side, he has reached a vast plateau of lofty country, stretching away towards the east.

The southern half of the Peninsula is divided into two parts. The western comprises the hilly but fertile Yemen; and the

* That is "the barrier," as lying between Yemen and Syria; or the frontier between the northern and southern merchants. (*C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p. 2.—Sprenger's Mohammed, p. 14.*)

perennial streams which here flow into the sea, with the rich corn-fields and plantations of coffee, well entitle it to be called the garden of Arabia. North of Yemen, lie Khaulân, Najrân, and other districts, partaking more or less of the same character. The eastern division, lying between these countries and Omân, is almost unknown (if we except its lofty and precipitous coast,) and is supposed to be entirely desert.

Though Arabia is not greatly inferior in extent to India, yet it does not possess a single navigable river; and, instead of a wide expanse of alluvial cultivation, it exhibits, for the most part, a barren and dreary waste of rock and sand. Most of the rivers lose themselves in the sandy plains, and never reach the sea: but here and there between the hills, the soil is fertilized by the streams or fountains; and the Wâdi or Oasis, contrasting with the wild bleak wilderness around, charms the traveller with an unspeakable freshness and verdure.

The whole of this vast continent has been peopled from time immemorial by the Arab race who, secluded from the rest of the world by their pathless deserts, peninsular position, and peculiar habits, have throughout all ages retained a singular purity from foreign admixture either of blood or manners. Although sacred writ and classical authority give some general intimations as to the colonization and state of the country, yet neither source furnishes us with any detailed history of the central and southern tribes;* and for this object, we are forced back upon the native tradition of Arabia. In a former paper in this *Review* the nature of Arab tradition has been discussed, and it has been shown that as regards genealogical and phylarchal reminiscences, it has peculiar claims upon our belief.†

In the case of the Himyar empire, in the south of Arabia, besides the benefit of such tradition, there is ground for believing that national events were chronicled by inscriptions, and thence incorporated in the traditional accounts of the Arab historians. It is thus that the history of the Himyar dynasty ascends far above that of the Abrahamic tribes, and it therefore demands our first consideration.

The reader has no doubt followed, with interest and curiosity, the successive discoveries which have been made of Himyar inscriptions at Sanâ, Hisn al Ghorâb, Khariba, and Mâreb. These were ancient seats of Himyar rule, and as we are assured that writing was known to the nation, and that the country

* Vide Art. IV. No. XXXVIII.—On the Aboriginal Tribes of Arabia.

† Vide Art. I. No. XXXVII, pp. 42, 43, and (*Id.*) p. 65.

YEMEN.

was far advanced in civilization and opulence, it only corresponds with our natural expectation, that we should find in the neighbourhood permanent memorials of ancient greatness, "graven in the rock with a pen of steel." Notwithstanding many learned and ingenious attempts to unravel these inscriptions, no certain clue has yet been found; and though in some of the words, a resemblance is traced to ancient names in the Himyar dynasty,* the foundation is not broad enough to build any sure theory upon.

We have, however, the indisputable fact, that events of some description, and most likely the names of the ancient kings, were thus chronicled. It is also highly probable that at the time of the Mahometan conquest, there were some of the inhabitants alive, versed in decyphering the Himyar alphabet, and able to communicate the meaning of the inscriptions to the curious enquirer. Thus, although we read nowhere of any Himyarite history of Yemen,† and although the knowledge of the Musnad character became soon extinct, yet it is probable that the early Mahometan writers had the means of deriving from native authority a chronicle of the names, and of some of the acts of the kings of Yemen.

Yet even supposing this authentic source of information, its imperfection is manifest from the doubtful and discrepant character of the details presented to us by the Arab historians. M. C. de Perceval, after incredible pains to reduce them to a uniform history, thus expresses his opinion of "the profound uncertainty" of these accounts.

Vague tradition, lists of kings discordant one with another, and containing manifest gaps, and interrupted or doubtful genealogies:—such are the documents presented to us by oriental writers. With only feeble elements like these for the construction of a history, there is little ground for the hope of reaching *the truth*. At the best, it may perhaps be not impossible to attain to *what is likely*. Beyond this latter term I do not stretch my pretensions. (*Vol. I. p. 47.*)

These modest pretensions M. C. de Perceval has fully realized.

The first of the Yemen dynasty is the great CANTAN. In order to calculate the era at which he lived, it is necessary to note the number of generations between him and Dzu Nowâs, the last of the race. They amount, by the Himyar line, as adjusted by M. C. de Perceval, to thirty-nine, which, at thirty-

* See instances given by M. C. de Perceval, *Vol. I. pp. 90 and 111.*

† Hamza mentions an ancient history of Yemen: but the meaning no doubt is an ancient *Mahometan History*.

three years to a generation,* give an interval of 1,287 years. Now the birth of Dzu Nôwâs may be placed approximatively at 460 A. D.; and thus the birth of Cahtân would be carried back to 827 B. C.

When, however, we follow the descent by another line, that of *Cahlân*,† the brother of Himyar, and also by the separate Himyar line of *Codhâa*,‡ we find only from thirty-three to thirty-six generations between Cahtân and Mahomet; and this would reduce the antiquity of the date by two or three centuries. In favor of the more modern era, there are the uncertainties and discrepancies in the Yemen succession: for it is possible that different and contemporaneous branches have been confused and represented as a continuous line.§ This is the more likely to have occurred, from the yearning of the Mahometan writers after extreme antiquity, and their desire, by protracting the genealogies, to connect them with the Mosaic record.

Whichever line be adopted, we may, with tolerable confidence, place the era of Cahtân between the years 800 B. C. and 500 B. C. It is this Cahtân whom Mahometan writers have identified with Joktân, the sixth from Noah; but the identification is one of those extravagant fictions, which the followers of Islam, in their zeal to accommodate Arab legend to Jewish scripture, have made in defiance of the most violent improbability, and the grossest anachronisms.|| Cahtân was

* M. C. de Perceval calculates thirty-three years to a generation, excepting where the exact period is known by historical fact or synchronism; but he admits that thirty years would, in general, suffice for an Arab generation. (*Vol. I. p. 248—Note 1.*) Spren-
ger allows three generations to 100 years, but he admits that "this is somewhat too high in ordinary cases," and he adopted the calculation, because some of Mahomet's progenitors were begotten at an advanced age, which raised the average. (*Asiatic Journal, No. CCXXI. p. 349.*)

† See Table II. *Vol. I.* of M. C. de Perceval.

‡ *Idem, Table III.*

§ M. C. de Perceval admits, that from the imperfection of his materials he has frequently been obliged to supply the lacune in the reigns from the genealogical lines, and vice versa. Thus, about the time of Abd Shams II., the 16th prince of the line, there is an admitted gap of several names in the royal line, as we learn by comparing it with the genealogical trees.

On the other hand, the lines of *Cahlân* and *Codhâa* were preserved *memoriter*; while that of Himyar was recorded in some manner, and in this respect is likely to be more complete.

|| M. C. de Perceval agrees in this view. "Il ne paraît point que, chez les premières, il est existé aucune tradition nationale relative à la filiation de Cahtân. C'est depuis l'Islamisme seulement, quand les Arabes ont commencé à recueillir les souvenirs de leur histoire, et à les comparer avec les témoignages de la Bible, que la plupart des écrivains orientaux ont identifié Cahtân avec Yectan, fils d' Héber." (*Vol. I. p. 39.*) In the following page, however, he adds, that, though the identity is not demonstrable, it may yet be plausibly entertained, but only on the supposition that a great number of unknown generations intervened between Cahtân and the descen-

succeeded by his son YAROB, who is said to have expelled or destroyed the Adites, and consolidated the empire of Yemen. He gave to his brothers *Omán* and *Hadhramaут* (the story is perhaps a myth,) the government of the two countries, thenceforward called by those names. Yárób begot Yashjob; and Yashjob, Abd Shams Saba the Great.

ABD SHAMS SABA is said to have been the founder of the city of Mâreb or Saba, represented, by most of the classical writers, under the name of *Mariaba*, as the capital of the Sabians, and situated upon a mountain. He is also reported by tradition to have constructed or repaired the famous lake-embankment (*Sadd Mâreb*) which was in the vicinity of that city, and the remains of which are apparent at the present day.*

Among the sons of Abd Shams Saba are the two famous patriarchs, *HIMYAR* and *CAHLÂN*, the sires (as tradition will have it) of the whole Arab progeny. Their birth, according to the variety of opinion above expressed, may have taken place from 400 to 700 B. C. The pure races from this descent are termed *Mutáriba*; those mixed with supposed Ishmaelite blood, *Mustáriba*.†

The children of Himyar are marked by their comparatively settled habits. They lived chiefly in cities, and acquired the civilized manners and tastes of urban life. The children of Cahlân betook themselves to the free and wandering occupa-

dants reputed as his sons. But it appears to us not only that the identity cannot be proved, but that it cannot be maintained as even possible. It is utterly incredible that the name of Yectan should have survived so many centuries as that of an historical personage, while all else before and after is blank. The dictum of Mahometan tradition on the subject is plainly of no more value than that of any speculator or scriptural harmonist of the present day: nor than that of the Medina party, who represent Cahtân to be a descendant of Ishmael, and therefore to have no connection with Yectan. (*Wachidi*, p. 262).—*C. De Perceval*, Vol. I. p. 39.)

* Others attribute its construction to the Adites—(*C. De Perceval*, Vol. I. pp. 16, 53,) in which case Abd Shams may only have repaired it. In dealing with such remote facts, we cannot do more than conjecture. For an account of the ruins see the interesting *Relation d'un voyage à Mâreb (Sana)* dans l'Arabie méridionale, entrepris en 1843. Par M. ARNAUD. (*Journal Asiatique*, Fevr. Mars. 1845); and the remarks of M. Frenel., *Id.*, September and October, 1845. The great dam is an hour's distance from Mâreb. (p. 242.)

† See Weil's *Mohammed*, p. 2; and *C. De Perceval* Vol. I. p. 7, where the third (or rather first) class given by the Arabs, viz., *Ariba*, is noted as consisting of the ancient aborigines, such as the Amálîca, Adites, Thamûd, Jadis, Tasm:—who, it is held, became extinct; but more likely merged into the more powerful *Mutáriba* and *Mustáriba* tribes. The three words are different forms of the same word .

Yárób, the name of Cahtân's son, is from the same source. The Arabs may either be really called after an historical character so named; or what is likelier, the character and name may be mythological, symbolizing the received opinion of the descent of the various Arao tribes from a common ancestor, thence styled by them Yárób.

tions of the Bedouin, scorning the restrictions of place, and the self-imposed wants of a sedentary residence.

A differing speech distinguished the two races. The *Himyarite* was spoken in the towns of Yemen, and was early provided with an alphabet.

The Arabic of the Cahlânite tribes (acquired by their inter-mixture with the Abrahamic tribes of the north,) did not possess this advantage, apparently, till near the time of Mahomet.* The Bedouins alone cultivated poetry, and they sang only in the Arabic language: we meet with no tradition mentioning a single verse composed in the Himyar tongue.†

From Himyar we may pass over fifteen or twenty reigns, some of which are of doubtful existence, and all characterized by vague and dim description.‡ We then come to that portion of the Himyar line known as the illustrious dynasty of the TOBBAS,§ and enter on a period of greater historical certainty.

* Vide note at page 6, Art I. No. XXXVII. of this Journal.

† The Himyar was, probably, the indigenous tongue of the Yectanide races; but it may have become assimilated with the Abrahamic Arabic from intercourse with the Abrahamic tribes. There are a variety of traditions regarding the prevalence of the two languages in Yemen. (*Cnf. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. pp. 8, 50, 56, 79.*) The Mahometan theories, that all the aborigines (*Ariba*) spoke Arabic, and that *Yárb* introduced it into Yemen, are evidently grounded on the etymological meaning of the words. A later king is said to have introduced the Himyar tongue into Yemen, upon the Arabic, **ادخل اللغة الحميرية على اللغة العربية**—as if the Arabic had been the vernacular. But the expression may refer to the court language of Mâreb, which perhaps may have changed at various times.

The fortuitous discovery of Himyar inscriptions, at various places, in a character hitherto unknown, and the felicitous recognition of an Arab MS. on the Himyar alphabet, give hopes that something may hereafter be decyphered from such monuments; but up to this time little more has been identified than a few names, and those uncertainly. The lucubrations of Mr. Forster on this subject are ingenuous, but fanciful.

The usual mode of writing is from right to left; but sometimes the *boustrophe-don* style is used. The letters are all separate, and the words disjoined by a vertical bar. (*Journal Asiatique, December, 1838, and September and October, 1845—M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p. 79.*) The Mahometans do not appear to have known much of the language: some saying that the writing was from left to right; some that the letters were disjoined, others connected. It is possible that there may have been a variety of styles; but the Mahometans are not remarkable for great exactness in such relations.

‡ To illustrate the absurdity of the fictions which abound in the history of this line, we may mention that the Arab writers have invented a story, according to which a Persian king, Menût Shahr Shammir, the grand-son of Himyar, and Moses, are all three made to appear on the same stage! ‘Le synchronisme présenté par quelques historiens entre Chamuir, Moïse, et un roi de Perse, Menoutchehr, ne mérite aucune attention. C'est une fausse conjecture, qui prend sa source dans l'idée très exagérée que se font les Arabes de l'antiquité des souverains du Yaman, dont on a conservé les noms.’ (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p. 56.*)

§ The origin of the name is doubtful. Some apply it to all Harith's successors, others to those only of them who ruled over the entire empire of Yemen, and did not divide its sovereignty with others. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p. 64*) Their royal residences were successively Mâreb or Saba, Tzafâr, and Sana. Between the second and third centuries there were three renowned “Tobbas,” known by that name *par excellence*.

HARITH AL RAISH, or AL FILSUF "the philosopher," supposed to have flourished about a century before Christ, is termed the first of the Tobbas. He re-invigorated the Empire, and restored to his single sceptre a variety of the kingdoms which had fallen under princes of the Cahlân stock.*

The successor of Harith was ESSAB DZU-L-CARNAIN, or "the Horned." The surname is that which the Arabs accord to Alexander the Great, and which is connected in the *Coran* with some strange legends, especially with the construction in the north of the prodigious rampart of *Yajûj* and *Majûj*.† The marvel-loving historians of Arabia have not been slow to follow up the clue. Some have identified Essâb at once as the hero of the *Coran*, and as the great Alexander; while others hold that he was a monarch contemporary with Abraham.‡

The third monarch from Essâb is styled by the foreign name of AFRICUS or AFRIKIN. He, probably, flourished about half a century before our era. The name, as usual, has suggested a variety of wild stories. Some allege that this king located in Africa the Amalekites, who escaped from Joshua, and who there grew up into the Berber nation: others, that his exploits against the Berbers procured him his distinctive title. The reigning prince of the day, in Africa, was Jirjir, or Gregory;§ a strange contemporary indeed for Joshua!

* M. C. de Perceval thinks that the Yemen empire may have become known as the *Himyar* from this date. The first mention of it in classical authors under that appellation, is by Strabo, regarding the expédition of Aelius Gallus; and he finds it difficult otherwise to account for such silence. But it would be still more difficult to believe that the name of *Himyar* was revived, and after the abeyance of so many centuries, became the distinguishing title of the kingdom of his remote descendants.

+ (*Coran XVIII.*, 85 et seq.) This fabulous wall has been identified with fortifications near the Caspian Sea, made, as they say, by Alexander, and repaired by Yezdegird II. (M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p. 66.) Whatever Alexander may have done to stop the inroads of the barbarians, the Arab legend is too wild to be seriously connected with them. It may, however, have originated in some grand construction or work-by Alexander, the account of which may have reached the Arabs greatly magnified, and which, in their hands, would grow apace.

‡ Yet the ancestor of one of these parties was but just now represented as contemporary with the remote descendant of the other: i. e., Shamur, the thirteenth or fourteenth in ascent from Essâb as contemporary with Moses! Such is Mahometan criticism and chronology.

§ M. C. de Perceval is of opinion that the Mahometan writers have here confounded their idea of some ancient African Prince, with Gregory the Patrician, who commanded in Africa, when invaded by Othmân. He well adds; "On voit là un exemple de peu de scrupule avec lequel l'ignorance de quelques écrivains orientaux rapproche les temps les plus éloignés." (Vol. I. p. 68.)

M. C. de Perceval has an ingenious theory that Africus may have been employed by Caesar in the war against Juba, and thence connected in name with Africa. In the battle of Actium, the Arabs of Yemen are said to have fought for Antony, and to have fled with Cleopatra.

Omnis Arabi, omnes vertebant terga Sabæi. (*Aeneid*, VIII. 706.)

Is it not more likely that he made hostile incursions into the Roman dependencies in Africa: and that these may, in some manner, be connected with the Roman expedition of Aelius Gallus, which followed shortly after.

To Africus succeeded his brother DZU-L-ADZAR, to whose reign attach a tissue of imbecile legends. Caycaus, King of Persia, attacked him, but was taken prisoner; he was subsequently liberated by the famous Rustam, and returned to his kingdom, after marrying the daughter of Dzu-l-Adzâr.* M. C. de Perceval has ingeniously surmised, that these facts may contain an allusion to an invasion from an opposite quarter; for it was somewhere about this period that Aelius Gallus, after having taken *Negranez*, or *Negra* (Najrân,) attacked, and was repulsed from, *Marsyaba*, (*Mariaba* or *Mâreb*,) a city belonging to the Yemenites,† who were then governed by *Ilasare*. The name of *Ilasare*, he recognizes in that of Dzu-l-Adzâr; but the appellation of this prince's son and successor, ALISHRA or LEISHRA, appears to have a more close resemblance to that of Strabo's Yemen chief. Our author's table makes *Leishra*, (who was also called SHURAHBIL, and YANISAB,) to have been born 68 B. C., or forty-four years before the Roman invasion, so that he is likely to have taken a part in the Arab defence.

The reader will not fail to observe that the Arab histories contain no farther clue to this memorable inroad of the Roman army. Yet it was a circumstance which, from its unprecedented novelty, from the lasting marks of devastation, and from the glory acquired in the repulse, was likely, above all other events, to have lodged itself in the national mind and tradition. The story of 2,000 years, though possessing often little interest, is told with freshness and circumstantiality, while this most striking and remarkable of all other events, is, after a lapse of five or six centuries, unnoticed and unknown!

The grand-daughter of Alcishra was the famous Queen BALKIS, who must have flourished during the first century of the Christian era; and her history furnishes even a stronger example of the illusory nature of remote Mahometan tradition. She is held to have been no less a personage than the veritable Queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon, the son of David, a thousand years before! Her mother is said to have been one of the genii; but it would be unprofitable to enter into a detail of the extravagant legends related of this person-

* M. C. de Perceval traces the legend to a poetical fiction in Ferdûsi. "Si l'on en recherche l'origine, on s'aperçoit, qu'une vague tradition, ou peut-être une pure fiction présentée sous des formes indécises par le poète Firdauzi, qui florissait trois siècles après l'hégire, a été arbitrairement arrangée par des écrivains postérieurs sous les traits précis d'un fait historique. Firdauzi avait chanté une expédition de Caycaus contre le roi de Hamâwerân, pays inconnu, fantastique, dont on a fait l'Arabie Heureuse. Le poète n'avait pas nommé ce roi : on a imaginé que c'était Dhôu-l-Adhâr." (Vol. I p. 72.) He then shows that the Mahometan historians are utterly ignorant of the real history of Persia at the period supposed.

† In the original 'Papavîtarw, but conjectured by M. Fresnel, with some likelihood, to be a mistake for 'Iapavîtarw.

age, and which have received some countenance even in the *Coran*. It is remarkable that Mahomet there represents her people as addicted to the worship of the Sun.*

Two more successions bring us to TOBBA AL AKRAN, in whose reign occurred the celebrated secession of the *Azdites*, a people descended from the stock of Cahlân. This tribe, under the command of two brothers, Omrân and AMR MOZAIKIA,† appear to have become independent of the Himyarites, and made themselves masters of Mâreb. Omrân died, but not (so goes the legend,) without giving his brother some intimation of a dire calamity impending over the land. The wife of Amr followed up the monition by an ominous vision, she bade him go to the embankment of the lake, and if he should see a rat scraping the mound, and detaching huge stones, she prognosticated a speedy and inevitable ruin. He went and saw the fatal sign. Thus warned, Amr Mozaikia made immediate preparations to emigrate; and set out northward with the greatest portion of his tribe. Shortly after their departure, the embankment rent asunder, and the flood escaping with devastating fury, spread destruction in its path.

In a former paper we have seen good grounds for believing that a cause of far greater depth and extent had long been at work, paving the way for this emigration. The drying up of the Yemen commerce, and stoppage of the carrying trade, had, no doubt, disorganized society, and, perhaps, led to the rebellion of the *Azdites*, and their seizure of Mâred. The threatened breach of the dam may have accelerated the crisis, and given the last impulse to an over-burdened and necessitous population, eager already to go in quest of a livelihood in a

* See *Sura XXVII. 24 et seq.* She is also styled by tradition Balcama or Yalcama; but no name is given in the *Coran*, where she is simply described as the Queen of Saba.—“ Mais les interprètes, ne trouvant pas dans la liste des souverains du Yaman, conservée par la tradition, de reine plus ancienne que Belkis, n'ont pas hésité à déclarer que c'était elle qui avait fait le voyage de Jérusalem. Leur sentiment a été pieusement adopté par les chroniqueurs, et cette opinion, accréditée et l'ignorance, est probablement, la cause principale qui a toriens de classer les rois du Yaman suivant un ordre chronologique (*M. C. de l'erceval, Vol.I. p. 77.*)

We would not however call this the “principal cause,” for the departure of the Mahometan historians from a reasonable chronology. Their appetite for ancient dates had a far more important source. They longed to complete the chain of legendary tradition by connecting Adnân with Ishmael, and Cahtâu with the Joktan of the Mosaiical record. The absurd antiquity thus imparted to modern names attached likewise to this Queen, and they were then free to deal with her as they pleased. The motive of identifying Belkis with the Queen of Sheba, is not of itself a sufficient one for the unsettlement of the chronology.

† He is called *Mozaikia*, they say, from daily “rending” the garment of yesterday which he always replaced by a new one: but more likely from “rending” the *Azdites* from their ancient settlements. But who can tell the thousand and one incidents from which a soubriquet may arise?

less straitened country. The migration took place about the year 120 A. D.*

Yemen, thus relieved of part of its surplus inhabitants, probably regained rapidly its prosperity, notwithstanding the ravages of the flood. Tobba-al Akran soon recovered his authority. He is renowned as a great warrior; and is said to have carried his arms to the borders of China.

The fourth in succession from Tobba al Akran, was TIBBAN ASAD, ABU CARIB, who flourished about the beginning of the third century of our era, one of the most illustrious of the Tobbas.† His name is connected with Yathreb or Medina; for the inhabitants of that place having murdered his son, whom he committed to their custody, when on an expedition towards Persia, he attacked their city, and threatened them with his vengeance. But two Jewish doctors of the Bani Coreitza, then resident at Medina, having brought him over to Judaism, diverted him from his design by foretelling, as is pretended, that Yathreb would become the refuge of the great prophet that was to arise in Arabia. At their instance, he visited and enriched the Kaaba as the shrine of Abraham, and was the first to adorn it with a covering of cloth. On his return to Yemen, he introduced there the Jewish religion; the idolaters contested the change, and appealed to the trial by fire; but they were miraculously confuted by the two Jewish doctors. Judaism did not, however, gain any important extension in Yemen, till the reign of Dzu Nowâs, and even to the era of Islam it had to contend against idolatry.

The details of the Medina expedition are much complicated by two circumstances. The same adventure is attributed by various writers to Hassân Tobba the Less, who flourished

* It is important to fix the chronology of this salient point in the history of Arabia. The Mahometan writers agree in placing the event between our Saviour and Mahomet, some six, some four, centuries prior to Islam. The Azdite genealogies, (such as those of the Aws and Khazraj of Medina,) combine to place the birth of Amr Mozaikia about five centuries before that of Mahomet. These considerations combine to place the emigration somewhere about 120 A. D. M. C. de Perceval thinks that the great prosperity ascribed to Mâreb by Strabo and Pliny, argues that the calamity of the dam was posterior to the Christian era. We should draw the same conclusion rather from the fact that the altered stream of commerce would, probably, not have worked out its baneful effect upon the Yemen state, till after the Christian era.

M. de Sacy conjectures, that the insecurity of the dam was not the real cause of the emigration; but was invented by the later Azdites, to cover one less honorable, perhaps, fear of defeat from Tobba al Akran. But the view we have given appears more natural.

† The author of the *Periplus* mentions *Caribael* as reigning at Zhafâr. This is supposed to have been about 200 A. D. Caribael may either have been this Abu *Cariba-al Himyari*, or his father Calay *Cariba-al Himyari*. (C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p. 90.)

about a century after Tibbân Asâd; while, in many important particulars, it is confounded with another attack, which was made upon Medina, by a sovereign of Yemen, at least three centuries after Tibbân Asâd, and the memory of which was yet recent in the time of Mahomet.*

After Tibbân Asâd, there is a break in the Hiunyar line: for a prince called RABIA, of the *Cahlânite* stock, and *Bani Lakhm* tribe, succeeded to him. The following characteristic legend is cherished by the Mahometans regarding Rabia. He was affrighted by a portentous dream, and the diviners were summoned; but, as in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, they could not tell the interpretation, until the dream should be made known to them. At last two diviners were introduced, each of whom separately narrated to the king both his dream and its signification. *Thou sawest a flame burst forth from the darkness; and it fell upon the land of Tihâma, and devoured every living thing.* This was the Abyssinians, who, they foretold, would overrun Yemen from Aden to Najrân, and rule for above seventy years; after that, they would be overthrown, and would be succeeded by an inspired prophet of the Coreishite stock, to whose rule all Arabia would submit, and whose law would prevail till the day of judgment. The prince, terrified by the threat of the Abyssinian invasion, sent off his family and adherents to Irâc. This emigration took place early in the third century. We shall see by-and bye, that from Adi, one of Rabia's sons, sprang the *Lakhmite* dynasty of Hîra.†

* The two expeditions are so confounded, that many of the names belonging to the modern attack (as that of Ohaila, who lived in the 6th century,) are introduced by a patent anachronism into the ancient adventure. The later expedition will be farther considered, when we come to Medina.

With reference to the ancient attack, the fact of the Aws and Khazraj being then at Yathreb (if it be a *bond fide* fact, and not borrowed from the modern expedition,) would argue for its having occurred under the reign of Hassân Tobba the Less, and not under that of Tibbân Asâd Abu Carib: because those tribes did not settle at Medina till about 800 A. D., or a century after the reign of the latter prince. On the other hand, the introduction of Judaism into Yemen, if really, as represented, a result of the present adventure, would favour the earlier date: because there is reason for thinking that Judaism was known there before 300 A. D.

The whole story is given at length by *Hishâmi*, pp. 7 et seq., and is common among the Mahometan historians. The reader will not fail to observe the ridiculous "foreshadowing" of Mahomet's flight to Medina. (*See Journal Asiatique*, November, 1838, p. 444.) Two valuable papers by M. PERRON, in that and the previous number, may be consulted by the student, who wishes to see, in greater detail, the accounts of the Mahometan historians on the subject. (*See also M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p. 91, and Vol. II. p. 647.*)

+ (*See Hishâmi*, p. 5, and *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I. pp. 96—100.) The latter, with reason, regards the prophecy to be a fabrication, and intended to cover a less reputable cause of emigration, perhaps fear of the arms of the Yemen monarch, against whom, in the capacity of vassal, he had rebelled. The Mahometan anxiety to discover or to fabricate *foreshadowings* of the coming Prophet, may have worked together with this motive.

On Rabia's death, the kingdom reverted to the son of Tibbân Asâd, HASSAN TOBBA, during whose reign, in the first half of the third century, a farther emigration took place northward. The *Bani Tay*, a Cahlânite family, isolated since the departure of their neighbours, the Azdites, and like them, we conclude, suffering from the effects of the great commercial change, migrated likewise, and finally took up their position in the mountains of Ajâ and Salmâ, to the north of Najd and the Hejâz.

About four successions later, we find, towards the close of the third century, a Christian king of Yemen, called ABD KELAL. He is said to have been converted by a Syrian stranger, whom the Himyarites, enraged at their Prince's defection, murdered. This is the first special intimation we meet with of Christianity in Yemen, and as it is attributed to a foreign source, there would appear to have been no indigenous or hereditary profession of it there.

The next prince was HASSAN TOBBA AL ASGHAR, or *the Younger*, styled *the last of the Tobbas*, to whom is attributed, by Hishâuni and other writers, the attack upon Medina, mentioned above. He reigned about 300 A. D.; and Arab historians speak of a treaty concluded between him and the Meccan tribe. From this time we have frequent proof of the dependence of the central tribes upon the Himyar kingdom; this influence was ever and anon interrupted by hostilities, and as often, after short intervals, renewed.

The next prince, MARTHAËB, son of Abd Kelâl, is famed for his wise and moderate views upon religious toleration. He used to say, “*I reign over men's bodies, not over their opinions. I exact from my subjects obedience to my government; as to their religious doctrines, the judge of them is the Great Creator.*” During this exemplary reign, an interesting embassage appeared in the capital of Yemen, sent by the Emperor Constantius, to strengthen his alliance with the Himyarites, and to attract them to Christianity. At its head was the Indian Bishop Theophilus, who presented to “the prince of the Sabæans or Homerites,” among other royal gifts, “two hundred horses of the purest breed of Cappadocia,” and sought permission to erect churches for the subjects of the Roman Emperor, attracted thither by merchandize, and for those of the natives, who wished to embrace the religion of Jesus. And so far the mission was successful: for three churches were built, one at Tzafâr, the royal residence; another at Aden, the point of traffic with India; and a third at the chief maritime town on the Persian gulph. Theophilus flattered himself, that he had even

converted the Himyar monarch; but for this he probably misook what was no more in reality than a latitudinarian and tolerant philosophy.* It is certain that Arab history makes no mention either of this mission or of its effects.

Philostorgius informs us that the inhabitants of Yemen consisted at that time, partly of Jews and partly of Pagans. The latter, though the most numerous, practised the rite of circumcision, like the Jews, on the eighth day. They also sacrificed to the sun and the moon, and to other divinities, several of whose names we learn from Arab writers.

After the death of Marthad, the Yemen Empire began to decline, and its subordinate rulers to throw off the yoke of dependence. This disorganization may, perhaps, have arisen from unsuccessful wars with the Abyssinian kingdom, for about the middle of the 4th century, the sovereign of Axum (between the Red Sea and the Nile) joined to his other titles that of *king of the Himyarites*.†

To such troubles we may probably attribute the brevity, and in some respects uncertainty, of the history of Yemen for a long series of years. The Himyar dynasty, however, still maintained its supremacy over the tribes of Najd and the Hedjâz; and about the middle of the fifth century gave them a king or viceroy, called Hojr Akil al Morâr, of the *Kinda* tribe.‡

Towards the end of the 5th century the empire was usurped by a dissolute person styled Dzu Shenâtir. He was abhorred of the people for his flagitious deeds, which he carried to such an extreme as to dishonour the youths of most noble families; but one of these, rather than submit to his indignities, put an end to the tyrant's life. This youth, called Dzu Nowas, belonged to the royal stock, and was unanimously called to the throne. During his reign (490—525 A. D.) there were several encounters between the Kinda viceroy, backed by Yemen troops, and the tribes of central Arabia. The latter, though repeatedly victorious, always returned again after a time to their allegiance. The Himyar dynasty thus maintained its Arabian influence until overthrown by the Abyssinians, when the feudal autho-

* (*M. C. de Perceval*, p. 112.—*Philostorgius Hist. Eccles.*, l. III., ch. 4—6.) Gibbon gives a brief account of this embassy. (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xx.) Philostorgius wrote his work in the first half of the 5th century.

† *M. C. de Perceval*, I. p. 114. The Greek inscription at Axum, discovered by Salt, notices these titles as appertaining to the Axumite monarch Aeizanas. See the description of Axum, between Merœ and the sea-port Adule, in *Heeren's Res. Africa*, Vol. I. p. 460, &c.

‡ Sabbath, who reigned over Yemen, 440 to 460 A. D., made a tour of Najd, to assure himself of the submission of the tribes of Central Arabia. (*M. C. de Perceval*, I. p. 116.)

rity over the Arabs passed into the hands of the Prince of Hîra, the vassal of Persia.

Dzu Nowâs was a votary of Judaism, which he is said to have embraced on a visit to Medina.* However this may have been, it is certain that he supported the creed with an intolerant and proselytizing adherence, which at last proved fatal to his kingdom. His bigotry was aroused by the prevalence and success of Christianity in the neighbouring province of Najrân, which he invaded with a large army. The Christians offered a strenuous resistance, but yielded at length, on the treacherous promise that no ill would be done to them. They were offered the choice of Judaism or of death, and those who remained constant to the faith of Jesus were cruelly massacred. Deep trenches were dug, and filled with combustible materials; the pile was lighted, and the Christian Martyrs cast headlong into the flame. The number thus miserably burned or slain by the sword, is stated at no less than twenty thousand.†

However exaggerated this melancholy carnage, there can be no doubt as to the bloody and tyrannical nature of the administration of Dzu Nowâs in Najrân. News of these proceedings reached the Emperor Justin I. through his ambassador at Hîra, to which court the Tyrant had exultingly communicated the tidings of his triumph.‡ One of the intended victims, Dous Dzu Tholabân, also escaped to Constantinople, and holding up a Gospel half burnt by the persecutor, invoked in the name of outraged Christendom, retribution upon the oppressor. The emperor was moved, and indited a despatch to the Najâshi, or prince of the Abyssinians, desiring him to take vengeance upon the barbarous Himyarite. Immediately an armament was set on foot, and in a short time 70,000 warriors embarked in thirteen hundred merchant ships and transports,§ and crossed the

* Hamza states that having visited Medina, one half of the inhabitants of which were then Jews, Dzu Nowâs was so well pleased with their religion, that he embraced it. But as M. C. de Perceval shows (*Vol. I. p. 122.*) it is much more likely that he became a Jew through the influence of the powerful and long established party in Yemen: and that he visited Medina in order to succour the Jews against the oppressive attacks of the Aws and Khazraj. This agrees with the history of Medina, and is in excellent keeping with the sectarian bias which led Dzu Nowâs to the attack of Najrân.

† *M. C. de Perceval, I. p. 129, Hishami, p. 14.* The details are briefly given by Gibbon at the close of the XLII. Ch. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: and the subject is alluded to in the Coran, Sura LXXXV. v. 4, et seq., where *Astâb al Ohddid*, are those who perished in the trenches.

‡ We gather this from the Greek historians. The Arabs only tell us of the suppliant Dous, whom the Greeks do not mention.

§ The number of the force as given by the Arabs is probably exaggerated. An ecclesiastical work mentions that 600 Roman merchantmen were employed on the occasion by the Abyssinian monarch: he had also 700 light transports. The Greek authorities state that the emperor wrote to the Patriarch of Alexandria to stir up the

narrow gulph which separates Adulis from Yemen. Dzu Nowâs was defeated, and, having in despair urged his horse into the sea, expiated in the waves the inhumanities of his career. The Abyssinian victory occurred in 525 A. D.*

The army was commanded by Aryât, who reigned over Yemen as the viceroy of the Najâshi. But another Abyssinian Chief, named Abraha, who had accompanied the expedition, rebelled against Aryât, and having slain him in single combat, succeeded to the Government. Abraha was a zealous Christian; and the efforts of Gregentius, a Bishop deputed by the Patriarch of Alexandria to follow up the secular by a spiritual conquest, were seconded by him with more energy than judgment. He built at Sanâ a magnificent Cathedral, and professed himself desirous that the pilgrimage of the Arab tribes should be diverted to this temple from that of Mecca. It is alleged that he published an order to that effect, and sent Missionaries throughout Arabia, calling upon the Arabs to make the new pilgrimage. The Meccans were displeased, and killed one of his emissaries; while a Coreishite had the audacity to defile the precincts of the Christian edifice. Enraged at such opposition, Abraha set out with an army to destroy the Kaaba; but he perished in the expedition. This attack, famous in the annals of Mecca, as that of *the elephant*, occurred in the year 570 A. D., and within two months of the birth of Mahomet.

The history of Yemen becomes now more detached from the rest of Arabia. The Abyssinian rule was distasteful to the natives, and a Himyarite of the royal house, named Saif, whether impelled by the tyranny of the invaders, or by the hope of succeeding to the throne of his ancestors, sought for foreign aid, first fruitlessly at the Court of Constantinople, and then at that of the Persian king. From the latter, Mâdicarib, son of the original suppliant, at last obtained an order to empty the prisons of such of their inmates as were

Negus or King of Axum, to avenge the massacre of his fellow Christians in Najran. This king is styled among the Arabs by the hereditary title of Najâshi, which is another form of Negus. The then prince is called by the Grecians Elesbaas (Atzbe-ha:) and by the Ethiopians Caleb or Amda. The former was probably his baptismal name. *M. C. de Perceval*, I. 131.

* Some Syrian and Greek writers place the Abyssinian conquest, as well as the massacre in Najrân, within the year 523 A. D. In Assemani (I. 364,) is given a letter of the Bishop Simeon, stating that tidings of the conquest of Najrân reached the king of Hira early in Feb. 524: it therefore occurred about the close of 523. Allowing time for the intervening events and preparations, the defeat of Dzu Nowâs cannot well be placed earlier than the beginning of 525 A. D. (*M. C. de Perceval*, p. 133.)

fit for war ; and with an army of armed convicts, he embarked in eight ships, six of which safely reached the port of Aden. The Persian and Abyssinian armies met, and Wahraz, the convict chief, decided the struggle, by killing Masrûk the Abyssinian viceroy. This happened about 575 A. D.*

In the person of MADICARIB, who was installed as the ruler of Yemen and the vassal of the Persian king, the Himyar dynasty appeared again to re-appear. The Arab tribes sent deputations to congratulate him on the auspicious occasion, and among them is reported Abd al Mottalib, the grand-father of Mahomet; but the story is accompanied by so many gross anticipations of the Prophet, as to involve it altogether in suspicion.†

There is reason to believe, that the Abyssinians still maintained a struggle with the resuscitated Himyar government, and were not finally subdued till the year 597. Then, after having maintained themselves for seventy-two years, they were effectually crushed by a second Persian army, under the same Wahraz, and Yemen became a Persian dependency.

But a few years wrought a mighty change in the destinies of Arabia ; and Badzân, one of the early successors of Wahraz, is said to have given in his adhesion to Islam, while Mahomet was yet alive.

We shall now trace the rise and history of two kingdoms in the north of Arabia, both of which, Arab in their origin, exercised a constant and important influence upon the Peninsula. These are the states of *Hira* and *Ghassân*.

These kingdoms took their rise, subsequent to the Christian era, in the migratory impulse which, as we have previously seen, led numerous tribes to move northward from Yemen, and transplant themselves from the shores of the Indian sea, in some instances, even to those of the Mediterranean, or the banks of the Euphrates. The emigration of the AZDITES, an extensive tribe, descended from Cahlân, the brother of Himyar, has been traced above to about the year 120 A. D.‡ One portion of them moved eastward towards Omân ; the other passed northward through Najrân and the Hedjâz, to

* The account of these events is given in detail by *Hishâmi*, p. 19 *et seq.*—*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I. p. 146 *et seq.*

† Weil objects to the story upon chronological grounds ; but his objections appear to be removed by the explanation of *M. C. de Perceval*, who makes the Abyssinians to receive the *first* check and overthrow in 575, but not to be *finally* expelled till 597. (*Weil's Mohammed*, p. 8, note 1.)

‡ See above, p. 12.

Syria, but left many off-shoots by the way, some of which commingled with the Bedouin tribes of Najd, while others settled at Mecca and Medina, and played a prominent part in their subsequent history.

The CODHAITE tribe, a race descended from Himyar,* inhabited Mahra, a country to the east of Aden, where they were ruled by their own kings. It was probably before the Azdites, that this people, pressed by the Yemen monarchy, and labouring, as we infer, from the difficulties caused by the great commercial change, migrated to the neighbourhood of Mecca. There they fell out with the Meccan tribes, and finally dispersed themselves in various directions. The *Bani Aslam* settled north of Medina in the valley of Wadi-al-Cora: the *Bani Kalb* in Dûmat-al-jandal, on the Syrian border: the *Bani Salih* on the east of Palestine: the *Bani Yazid*, in Mesopotamia: and the *Taym Allât*, in Bahrein. The dispersion took place towards the close of the second century.

About the same time, the BANI JYAD and other off-sets of the famous Meccan tribe† (the ancestors of the Coreish,) spread themselves eastward in the Peninsula.

From each of these sources, certain bands of Azdite, Codhâite, and Meccan Arabs wandered towards Bahrein, where, opposed in their eastward progress by the Persian Gulph, they combined together about the year 190 A. D., and guided by the coast and by the Southern bank of the Euphrates, alighted upon the site of HIRA, a few miles north-west of the site of the more modern Cufa. There, attracted by the rich and well-watered vicinity, the strangers took up their abode, and about A. D. 200, laid the foundations of the city. The Arsacide monarchy was then crumbling under revolt and disastrous war, and the young colony, swelled by needy adventurers and desperate refugees from Arabia, grew unmolested and rapidly into an important state. Another city, not far distant from Hira, called Anbâr, was either founded, or having been previously in existence, was taken possession of, by the Arabs.‡

* Some hold that Codhâa was descended from Maadd, the Ishmaelite ancestor of Mahomet, and that his posterity, having settled in Yemen, became confounded with that of Himyar. But the legend is unlikely, and was probably concocted from the desire of the Codhâites to participate in the sacred descent from Ishmael. It shows, however, how uncertain is Mahometan tradition of remote events. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p 207.*)

† By the Meccan tribe, we designate the ancestors of the Coreish running up to Adnân, and those of their descendants who remained attached to Mecca.

‡ By some the establishment of this town has been referred back to the time of Nebuchadnezzar II., who is said to have left here the captives carried off in his inroad into Arabia. But this is a mere hypothesis of the Arab historians, who are very expert in imagining such causes for the origin of towns and kingdoms. Another

We have reason to believe that at first there was both an Azdite and a Codhâite chief, the former at Anbâr, the latter at Hîra. The rule of MALIK the Azdite (A. D. 195—215,) was terminated by his son, who in the darkness mistook him for an enemy, and killed him by an arrow. As the father was dying he repeated these touching lines ;—

* اعلمه الرماية كل يوم * فلما اشتد ساعدہ رمانی *

“ Daily I instructed him in the art of shooting,
And when his arm became strong, he turned against me his bow.”

This incident is noted to show with what detail, even at that remote period, the history of Hîra has been preserved. As we advance, the detail becomes greater and more certain. The position of Hîra, closely influenced by the adjoining empire of Persia, and on the highway to Syria, induced an early civilization and acquaintance with letters. Arab poets frequented the court of Hîra, and their effusions were prized and preserved. Thus there was abundant opportunity, both of public archive and of poetical record ; and as these were conveyed down to the era of Islam, the history of this kingdom deserves our confidence.

The parricide fled to Omân, and another son, JODZEIMA, succeeded to the Government. During his reign (205—268 A. D.,) the Sassanide dynasty of Persia arose in strength upon the ruins of the Arsacide. The Codhâite chief, with his Bedouin followers, spurned the claims of Persia upon their allegiance, and departed to Syria. Thus Jodzeima and the Azdite party were left in undivided possession of Hîra, which, with its Arab tribes,* became the willing vassal of the Persian king.

Jodzeima made frequent incursions into Arabia, and in one of them was overtaken and beaten by the army of the Himyar monarch, Hassân Tobba. But his greatest and most continued efforts were directed against the Arab allies of the Roman Empire in Syria.

As Persia claimed Hîra and the eastern tribes, so Rome assumed for her allies or retainers the Arabs of Western Syria ;

theory is that Tibbân Asâd Abu Carib, king of Yemen, left here his invalid soldiers ; but his expedition did not take place till about 235 A. D.,—a considerable time after the foundation both of Hîra and Anbâr. The question is not one of much importance. The main point is undoubtedly, viz., that the kingdom of Hîra originated in an Arab colony.

* These consisted of three classes. I. The *Ibâd*, or inhabitants of Hîra and its environs. II. The *Zondkhites*, or Arabs (Bedouins,) who had immigrated from Arabia into the neighbouring country. III. The *Ahlaf*, their allies. The two latter dwelt in tents, and lived a nomad life on the pasture lands adjoining the Euphrates.

and in the struggle between the empires, these two divisions of the Arab clan were wont to fight on their respective sides. Thus rivalry and frequent warfare sprang up, fomented by the private enmities of the Arabs themselves, and often receiving singular illustration in the pages of Roman history.

It was after the middle of the second century, according to the Arab authorities, that the Roman Emperor (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus,) invested the chief of the Bani Samayda, *Odenath* or *Odzeina*, with the sovereignty of Syrian Arabia. The third or fourth in descent from him was *Amr*, son of Tzarib, whose kingdom extended to the Euphrates, and embraced a portion of Mesopotamia. He waged war, in the middle of the third century, with various success, against Jodzeima, king of Hira, by whom he was at length killed, (260—270 A. D.) His widow, (or according to some his daughter) *Zebba*, avenged the death of *Amr* by inviting Jodzeima, under pretence of marriage, to her capital, and there murdering him. The Arab annals abound with marvellous tales of *Zebba*. She possessed a tunnel underneath the Euphrates, and on either bank a fortress, one commanded by herself, the other by her sister *Zeinab*. Her summer residence was Tadinor, or Palmyra. The successor of Jodzeima (*Amr*, son of *Adi*) resolved to revenge his death, and by a stratagem introduced into her citadel 2,000 warriors concealed as merchandize in as many bags hung across the backs of camels. Taken by surprise, *Zebba* fled to her river fortress, and, having in vain endeavoured to escape by one or the other, destroyed herself by a subtle poison which she always carried in a ring.* With *Zebba*, the dynasty of *Odzeina* fell into obscurity.

These details leave little doubt of the identity of Septi-

* Her speech on this occasion بیدی لا بید ابن عدی “*Let me full by my own hand, not by the hand of the son of Adi!*” is proverbial. So also the proverb—**لعن** لامر ما جدع قصیر “*It was for an important end Cusseir cut off his nose:*”—refers to the stratagem by which Cusseir, the minister of *Adi*, ingratiated himself with *Zebba*, representing that he had fled from the cruelty of *Adi's* son, who had mutilated his nose. He became her merchant, and introduced the soldiers in the manner stated above, as a new investment of goods. (*M. C. de Perc.*, II. p. 38.) The whole of these circumstances, with many fabulous adjuncts, will be found in *Price's Essay on Arabia antecedent to Mohammed*, chapter iv. (which is a more compilation of Persian histories.)

It is evident that these proverbs must have taken their rise in the events related, or in the popular tradition of them. But such is not the case with the great majority of the proverbs reported by *M. C. de Perceval*, as originating in special events or speeches: these are mostly of a general nature, and having nothing personal about them, are equally applicable to many different occasions. Thus, “*Sweet honey in a bad jar*” (II. p. 651,) and “*After disarming comes captivity, and after captivity death,*” (*Ibid.* p. 578,) would apply to a thousand different circumstances.

mius Odenathus, and his wife Zenobia of classic fame, with the Amr and Zebba of Arabic history. The family of Odenath, honoured with many immunities, and illustrated by the royal surname of Septimius Severus, revolted against Rome, and about the middle of the third century declared Palmyra an independent Government. Septimius Odenath, after hesitating betwixt the allegiance of Rome and Persia, and on the captivity of Valerian inclining towards Sapor, at length entered upon a decisive struggle with Persia, and in several engagements having covered himself with glory, vanquished the Persian armies and ravaged Mesopotamia. By artful movements in a critical period of civil discord, he rendered essential service to the Emperor Gallienus, and was elevated as his colleague to the imperial purple. He was assassinated at Emessa (A. D. 267) by his nephew Maconius.* But Zenobia killed the murderer, and after a short but splendid reign, and opposition far from contemptible to the Roman army, she fled from Palmyra, and was made prisoner as she reached the Euphrates (273 A. D.). It can hardly be doubted that the Arabs and the Romans have styled the same hero by different appellations—the former by his proper name of *Amr*, the latter by his patronymic *Odenath*. As little need we hesitate in recognizing Zebba of Tadmor, in the Zenobia of Palmyra: the beauty, the chastity, the commercial riches, the acquaintance with the tongues of Syria, Greece, Italy and Egypt, and many other particulars compon to both, all point to one and the same individual.† The Arab Zebba perished on a fruitless attempt to escape from her river battlements; the Roman heroine was captured as she was about to cross the Euphrates in a boat. But the Arabs mistook the enemy of Zenobia; it was not the king of Hira, but the Emperor of Rome.‡

* See the account of these events in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chapters xi. and xii. C. de Perc., II, p. 193 et seq. If we followed only the similarity of names, Zenobia would stand for Zeinab, the sister of Zebba. It is remarkable that a *Zabda* or *Zaba* is also mentioned by the Greek and Roman authors, and Vopiscus speaks of "Zenobiam, Et Zabam, Ejus *Sociam*," as if the latter were a female: but as the person who went by that name was Zenobius, general in Egypt, the feminine gender must be a mistake, and the correspondence with the Arabic name accidental. Zenobia's character agrees only with that of Zebba. (M. C. de Perc., II, p. 30, note 4.)

† Consult the account given of her character and fortunes by Gibbon. (*Decline and Fall*, chapter xi.)

‡ This subject illustrates the feeble authority of unsupported Mahometan history of remote date. "Les Arabes ont travesti l'histoire de Zénobie; ils font jouer au roi de Hira Amr fils D'Adi, le rôle de l'empereur Aurélien dans le dénouement du drame. Amr fils D'Adi pouvait avoir soutenu quelque guerre contre Zénobie; il aura suffi aux auteurs de la légende, pour lui attribuer la catastrophe de Zénobie ou Zebba, que le renversement de la puissance de cette reine ait eu lieu sous son règne." (M. C. de Perc., I. 199.) Gibbon has well drawn the same conclusion from a vital omission: "So little has been preserved of eastern history before Mahomet,

We return to Jodzeima, the Prince of Hira. His daughter married Adis, the son of Rabia, the Lakhmite king of Yemen, (who, as has been already related, sent his family to Irac, about 205 A. D.) and gave birth to AMR, whom Jodzeima adopted as his successor. Strange and fabulous are the Arab legends of this child. He was carried off by the genii, and after many years found by a cistern in the desert, with long dishevelled hair, and nails like the claws of a bird. During his reign (268—288 A. D.) besides vanquishing Zebba, he gained other conquests. Amongst these was Mesopotamia, for after Zenobia's fall, the Romans loosened their grasp on that country, and it passed into the empire of Persia and the Government of Hira.*

Amr was succeeded by his son IMRUL CAYS I. (288—338 A. D.,) who, according to certain Arabian authors, was a convert to Christianity; but the fact is improbable. It is not, however, unlikely that Christianity had been introduced among his *subjects* before the beginning of the fourth century.†

It was in this reign that Sapor II. of Persia visited some of the tribes of Central and Northern Arabia, with severe reprisals for ravages committed during his minority. The brunt of his fury fell upon the Bani Iyâd, Bani Bakr, and other families of Meccan origin. To prevent similar incursions the king caused a deep trench to be dug from the Persian gulph along the frontier of Irac, and though it formed but a feeble obstacle to Arab insurgents, yet three centuries later, on the Moslem conquest, the remains of the *Khandaq-Sabûr* or "Trench of Sapor" were still visible near Cadesiya.

After two or three successions NOMAN I. reached the throne. (390—418 A. D.) Under his auspices Hira became prosperous and powerful, and acquired the appellation *Hirat al Nomân*, contracted by the Syrians, Greeks and Romans into *Hirta*.

Yezdegird, king of Persia, entrusted the education of his son, Bahrâm Gour, to Nomân, who built for his use, on a salu-

that the modern Persians are totally ignorant of the victory of Sapor, an event so glorious to their nation." (*Decline and Fall, chapter x.*) But Mahometans look with coldness and indifference upon any conquests before the time of Islam, their *nationality* dates only from that epoch. (*M. de Perc. II., p. 21.—Price's Essay as above, p. 121 et seq.*)

* This result of the struggle may have given that turn to the legend which connects the fall of Zenobia with the princes of Hira. (*M. C. de Perc. II., p. 46.*)

† M. C. de Perceval mentions on the authority of de Lequieu (*Oriens Christ. II. 1078,*) that some Roman captives brought to Babylonia, introduced Christianity there about 271 A. D. But even apart from such cause, in the ordinary course of diffusion, it is probable that Christianity had reached across the desert by that period. The Government of Hira, however, was addicted to idolatry for some time after.

brious site, the famous palace of Khawarnac. The Greek architect imprudently divulged, that if a certain stone, known to him alone, were removed, the edifice would fall to the ground: Nomân resolved that the secret should perish with him, and the unfortunate Sinnimâr was precipitated from one of the lofty bastions and dashed to pieces.*

Under Nomân Christianity made rapid progress. It was about the year 410 A. D., that Simeon the Styliste retired to the top of a hill to the east of Antioch, and by a life of wonderful austerity, and the fame of miraculous power, attracted multitudes to his presence. Iraç and Arabia heard the rumour of his virtues: many Arabs joined the throng of his admirers, and became well disposed to Christianity. Nomân, fearing, perhaps, lest enthusiasm for the Syrian monk might engender favor for the Roman Government, forbade his subjects under pain of death to visit the desert sanctuary. But the monarch saw a dream by night, in which Simeon appeared to chide him, and caused two of his disciples to administer a severe castigation for his ungodly conduct. The prince awoke, smarting under the effects of the visionary chastisement, and made haste not only to withdraw the prohibition, but to allow the erection of churches, and to welcome the ministrations of ecclesiastics. This narrative is said to have been received by a Roman General from the mouth of Nomân himself, who added that, but for the dread of the Persian monarch, he would not hesitate to become a Christian.† It is agreed by all that Nomân abandoned idolatry, and it is affirmed by some that he embraced Christianity. There is, at any rate, good ground for believing that, dissatisfied with the world, and anxious to pass the rest of his days in quiet devotion, he abdicated the Government, and about 418 A. D. disappeared.‡

* Hence “*to receive the reward of Sinnimâr*,” is a proverbial expression for being treated ungratefully.

† This was the period when Yezdegird distinguished himself by the persecution of Christianity, 416 A. D.

‡ The Poet Adi has made allusion to this incident in the following verses, addressed as an admonition to Nomân V. and his pupil, and a descendant of this prince:—

تَدِيرُ رَبِّ الْخَوْرُقَ إِذْ أَشْرَفَ يَوْمًا وَ لَهْدِي تَفْكِيرٌ
سَرَرَ مَاهَةً وَ كُثْرَةً مَا يَمْلِكُ وَ الْبَحْرُ مَعْرِضاً وَ الْمَدِيرُ *
وَ ارْعَوِي قَلْبَهُ وَ قَالَ وَ مَا غَبَطَةَ حَيٍّ إِلَى الْمَمَاتِ يَسِيرُ *

“Reflect upon the Lord of Khawarnac, (for reflection leadeth to wisdom;) how, when one day he looked abroad from on high:—

“His heart was entranced by the view of his wealth, of the multitude of his possessions, of the river that flowed before him, and of the palace of Sedir:—

“But suddenly his heart smote him, and he said, “what is there to be envied in the living (possessor of all these things,) seeing that he hasteth unto the dead?”

Sedir was another famous country palace, which Nomân built for himself (M. C. de Perc. II., p. 59.)

To Nomān succeeded MUNDZIR I. (418—462 A. D.), who finished the education of the famous Bahram, and aided in gaining for him the Persian Crown. The persecution of Christianity, persevered in by Bahram, re-kindled hostilities with the Roman empire. The Romans besieged Nisibis; while Mundzir with a cloud of Arabs threatened Syria, and even Antioch. The churches were filled with suppliants to avert the coming vengeance, and in effect, a panic is said to have seized the Arab troops: they turned their arms against each other, and precipitated themselves into the Euphrates.* This occurred in the early years of Mundzir's reign. In 422 A. D. a lasting peace was concluded, and we hear little more of him from the Greek and Latin historians, whose incidental notices of the Arabs are confined to the wars between the two Empires.

Towards the end of the fifth century hostilities again broke out between Persia and Constantinople, and we find Nomān III., during his short reign (498—503 A. D.), almost constantly engaged, with various fortune, in warfare with the Roman troops. But about the beginning of the sixth century, an irruption of Arabs, independent alike of the Roman and of the Persian rule, carried terror and devastation throughout Syria. These were the Bani Bakr, and other central tribes, who under the guidance of the Kinda-ite chief *Hârith*, son of Amr al Macsûr (of whom there will be further mention hereafter,) threw themselves into western Syria: but having in 502 A. D. concluded a treaty with the Roman Emperor, they turned their arms against the kingdom of Hîra, defeated the troops sent to oppose them, and plundered the country all around. The panic and confusion were so great that Hârith seized possession of the city and the Government; but after a time retired with his Arab hordes to their native deserts.†

After a short interregnum, IMRULCAYS III. (505—513 A. D.) became fixed in the Government of Hîra. In a previous incursion into Arabia, he had carried off the famous Ma-al-Samâ, or "Water of the skies," so termed from her unrivalled beauty;

* Cnf. Gibbon, Ch. xxxii. These facts are of course gathered from the Greek and Latin authorities alone.

*

† Joshua the Styliste, a contemporary historian, calls these invaders *Thalabites*. Their leader is also called by Theophanes, Aretas surnamed *Thulabanes*, 'Ο τῆς Θαλαβᾶντος, or ~~son~~ of the *Thalabites*. The Arab historians tell us that the invaders were Bakrites, which corresponds with the title given them by the Greek writers, as including the great branch of the descendants of *Thâlaba*, son of *Ocâba*. It is remarkable that Hârith's mother was descended from Thalaba, though his father was of the tribe of Kinda. The *Matronymic* of the Greek historian thus wonderfully coincides with the *facts* given us by the Arabs; and the coincidence imparts a credibility to the whole narrative.

and she bore him a son and successor, named Mundzir.* But the seizure of this lady gave rise to serious hostilities with Central Arabia, which were at last put a stop to by the marriage of Mundzir to Hind, daughter of Hârith, the marauding chief noticed above.

The early part of the reign of MUNDZIR III. (513—562 A. D.) was full of trouble. It was at this time that the communist principles of the impostor Mazdak, adopted and enforced by the sovereign Cobâd, were rife in Persia, and threatened the social system throughout the land with an utter disorganization. Mundzir rejected the abominable doctrine; and in the year 518 A. D., his domains were assigned to the Arab Hârith. But principles so abhorrent from human nature could not long hold their ground. The impostor carried his arrogance to the pitch of demanding the Queen of Persia: her son, the future Kesra (*Chosroes*) Anushirvan, boiled with indignation at the request; but he repressed his anger, and bided his time for revenge. The socialists† redoubled their efforts, and Cobâd at last seeing his throne in danger, abandoned the seat to his son. Kesra was not long in beheading Mazdac, and in one morning 100,000 of his followers are said to have expiated the social enormity with their lives.

Mundzir, aided by Kesra, expelled Hârith from Hîra, and pursued him with slaughter into Arabia. He re-entered upon the Government in 523 A. D. His reign was thenceforward one of prosperity, and he attained a power unknown to any of his predecessors.

Abul Feda asserts, and Christian historians generally believe, that Mundzir III. was a convert to Christianity: but the conclusion is contradicted by other evidence. In the beginning of his reign he may have made enquiries into our faith; but there is every reason to believe that, like the generality of Arabs in

* He is called by the Greek historians Ἀλαμονδαρος ὁ Σεκικης, or *Mundzir*, the descendant of *Shakka*. M. C. de Perceval, by an ingenious and apparently sound deduction, corrects by means of this title, a confusion in the chronology of the Arab historians themselves. Some of those, misguided by the similarity of name, make *Nomân I.* to be the son of *Shakka*; whereas that lady must have been the wife of his son *Mundzir I.*, and mother of his grandson *Nomân II.*, who was the ancestor of our *Mundzir* in the text. *Mundzir I.* had a second wife, *Hind*; and to distinguish the posterity of the other, they were styled the “branch of *Shakka*.” But had *Shakka* been the wife of the first *Mundzir*’s father, the title would have been meaningless, as applying to the whole of his descendants. The phrase quoted above, and preserved by the Greeks from the Arab currency of the day, thus ingeniously applied, serves to correct the later Arab authorities. (M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p. 77.)

† They appear to have coalesced with the *Manicheans*. Indeed the Greeks call both by the latter name: and the Arabs both by the term *Zendîca*. The 42nd chapter of *Gibbon’s Decline and Fall* may be consulted for the incidents of this period.

his day, he remained a Pagan ; and towards the end of his life, he alternately protected and persecuted the Christians.

Eutychian doctrine was at this time supported by the Emperor Anastasius, and caused dissension in the church. Severus, the Patriarch of Antioch, shortly after the accession of Mundzir, sent two bishops to gain him over to his side. The prince listened to their arguments, but having adroitly entrapped them into the confession that angels could not die, he drew the deduction that much less could the divine nature be subject to death, and caused his reverend guests to retire in confusion. The story is probably founded on fact, and illustrates the opposing heterodoxies that were gradually paving the way for Islam.

Another deputation deserves special notice. Two Grecian Generals having fallen, by the chance of war, into the hands of the king of Hira, the Emperor Justin sent an ambassador named Abraham, with the Bishop Simeon, to demand their deliverance. Not finding Mundzir at his capital, they set out, on the 20th January, 524, for his camp, which they reached ten days' journey to the south of Hira. Their mission was successful. It was during this visit that Mundzir received the letter noticed above from the Jewish prince of Yemen, Dzu Nowâs, giving tidings of the butchery of the Christians in Najrân, and inviting him to follow his example. After causing the letter to be read aloud to the army, in which there were a very great number of Christians, Mundzir is said to have thus addressed them :—“ *See ye not, how your fellow Christians are treated elsewhere ? why will not ye renounce the religion of Jesus ? Think ye that I will treat you more favourably than other princes, who have proscribed them ?* ” From amid the ranks, a soldier boldly replied, “ *We were Christians before we were thy subjects. No one dares make us renounce our faith : if pushed to defend ourselves, the arm and the sword of each of us are as good as those of any other.* ” Daunted by such boldness, Mundzir continued to the Christians their liberty ; but it is sufficiently evident that he was not a Christian himself.*

Soon after the death of Hârith, the influence of the tribe of Hinda, which had been the representative of the Himyar dynasty in Central Arabia, waned and expired. The Abyssinian invaders (525 A. D.) were regarded with aversion by the Arabs, and the allegiance hitherto tendered to their predecessors was transferred to the house of Hira, or rather to Persia,

* It is however somewhat suspicious that this, so critical a scene for the Christians, should have been enacted just as the embassy happened to be there. It may be exaggerated, but even its invention would have been in the highest degree improbable had Mundzir been a Christian.

of which it was the vassal.* This important change, which occurred about 530 A. D., enabled Mundzir, with less apprehension from the south, and with a greater reserve of allies, to prosecute his Parthian warfare against Syria. Sudden as a thunder-storm, his troops would darken some fated spot, and sweeping in their train terror and devastation, captivity and death, they would as suddenly disappear, scorning the pursuit of the Roman army, which could find no sign of their enemy but in his ravages. For thirty years, with some intervals of truce, these hostilities were waged, either against the Romans or their allies, the Arab dynasty of Ghassân.† It was in this period that Belisarius so distinguished himself in repelling the inroads of Kesra, which reached even to Antioch,‡ and in preserving the Roman frontier. Mundzir was at last killed (562 A. D.) in a campaign against Hârith V., of the Ghassân line.§

* It was through the exercise of the influence thus acquired, that Mundzir III. put a stop to the desolating war, (the war of *Basîs*,) which had long raged between the Bakr and Taghibib tribes, who, as pledges of peace, sent to the court of Hira each eighty young men, who were yearly changed. These formed the corps of the Rahâin, and were regarded as the flower of Arab chivalry. The greater part, if not the whole of the Mâaddite tribes (or those of Meccan origin) submitted themselves to Hira.

† In these lengthened campaigns, the private disputes of their respective vassals not unfrequently embroiled the Persian and Roman Governments, or were at least the *ostensible* cause of war. The following is an example:—"Unpractised in the art of violating treaties, he (the Persian King,) secretly excited his bold and subtle vassal Almondar. That prince of the Saracens, who resided at Hira, had not been included in the general peace, and still waged an obscure war against his rival Arethas, the chief of the tribe of Ghassân, and confederate of the empire. The subject of their dispute was an extensive sheep-walk in the desert to the south of Palmyra. An immemorial tribute for the license of pasture appeared to attest the rights of Almondar, while the Ghassânide appealed to the Latin name of *Strata*, a paved road, as an unquestionable evidence of the sovereignty and labours of the Romans. The two monarchs supported the cause of their respective vassals; and the Persian Arab, without expecting the event of a slow and doubtful arbitration, enriched his flying camp with the spoil and captives of Syria." (*Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, ch. xlii. —*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II.*, p. 98.)

‡ In 528 A. D. Mundzir appeared in the vicinity of Antioch, and burnt the suburbs of Chalcis (Kinasru.) By the time the Roman troops were put in motion, he had regained the desert with a multitude of captives. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II*, p. 93.) This is not to be confounded with the invasion of Syria and sack of Antioch by Chosroes in 540 A. D. (*Gibbon, ch. xlvi.*)

§ An incident in one of these Syrian campaigns throws light on the religious practices of the northern Arabs. In the year 541 A. D., Belisarius having convoked a council of war, two Roman officers, in command of Syrian garrisons, declined to follow the army to Nisibis, on the plea that their absence would leave Syria and Phenicia exposed to the attacks of Mundzir. Belisarius argued that as the summer solstice was at hand, when the Arabs devoted two months to the practices of their religion without resorting to arms, there was no cause for apprehension, and he promised to let them go when that period was expired. These were the months of Meccan pilgrimage: and we hence learn that Mundzir and the majority of his Arabs followed the religion of the Hejâz. The period also coincides singularly with M. C. de Perceval's system for calculating the Meccan calendar.

In another place Procopius loosely states, that Mundzir having made prisoner a son of the Ghassânide prince, immolated him to Venus. By Venus he may possibly have meant Lât or Ozza.

AMR III. (562—574 A. D.) was not slow in avenging the death of his father, by a fierce attack upon the Ghassânde kingdom. Shortly after his succession, a peace was concluded between Persia and the Roman Empire. But Amr, dissatisfied with the stoppage of a pension received by his father, sent an embassage of complaint to Constantinople, and was so mortified by the mode of its reception, that he again overran Syria with his armies. He also waged bloody wars with the Bani Tay and Bani Tamîm (tribes of Central Arabia); the latter of whom had murdered his brother. He met with his death, A. D. 574, in a singular mode, highly illustrative of Arab manners. He had sworn in his pride that his own mother should be served by the mother of the haughtiest Arab in the land. Accordingly, at an appointed festival, the mother of Amr, a warrior-poet of the Bani Taglib, was invited into the tent of the prince's mother, who sought to entrap her into the apparently insignificant act of handing her a dish. But the proud spirit of the Arab lady spurned the office; and resenting the affront, she screamed loudly to her tribe. Her son started at the call, and springing up struck the prince dead upon the spot. It was in the eighth year of this king's reign that Mahomet was born.

Henceforth Hira seems to have declined, and there is an uncertainty about some of the successions to its sovereignty. In 580 A. D., MUNDZIR IV. was raised to the throne. Jealous of his brothers, or anticipating the success of the Romans, he had gone over to them, and repaired to Constantinople with his suite; but, subsequently, he changed sides and joined Hormuzd, the Persian monarch, who conferred on him the Crown of Hira. He fell, finally, as a captive into the hands of the Romans, and for his defection was banished to Sicily.*

NOMAN V. ABU CABUS succeeded Amr (583—605 A. D.) He was brought up by Adi, one of the most renowned of the city poets,† whose history bears upon that of Hira. His remote ancestor Ayûb (Job,) of the Bani Tamîm (a Bedouin tribe, of Meccan origin,) having committed murder, fled to the court of Hira, and being received with distinction, settled there. The sixth in descent from him was the poet Adi, whose grand-father and father (Zeid) both held offices of trust at Hira.‡ Adi and his father were both charged with the

* This is the account of the Greek historians; the Arabs make him perish in a battle with the Ghassânde army.

† The city poets were regarded as inferior to the free poets of the desert.

‡ His grand-father was Secretary to Nomân III., and his father Director of the Post. On the death of Nomân IV., his father was placed by the people in temporary charge of the Government.

education of the young Nomân. In process of time (575 A. D.) Adi received, at the court of Persia, the post of Arabic Secretary to the Monarch. In 581 he was despatched by the court of Persia on a pacific embassy to Constantinople, and commissioned with a rich present for the Emperor Tiberius. He travelled back by the imperial relays of horses, and by a route calculated to convey the largest idea of the power and resources of the Roman Empire. On his return to Medâin or Ctesiphon, he sought and obtained leave of absence to visit Hîra, where he was received by the king and the people with triumphant acclamation. It was on this occasion, that on a Maundy Thursday, he met at the church of Tûma, Hind, the grand-daughter of the reigning prince Mundzir IV., and daughter of his own pupil, the future Nomân V. The damsel partook of the Sacrament there : Adi caught a glimpse, and was enamoured of her. His passion was reciprocated, and though she was scarce eleven years old, they were united in marriage.

These facts show that both Adi and Hind professed the Christian faith. It is agreed by all that Nomân V. was likewise of the same religion ; and by some his conversion is attributed to the instruction of his preceptor Adi.*

It was by Adi's influence at the court of Persia, that Nomân V. was chosen from amongst his brethren to be the king of Hîra. But that influence procured him enemies. He was misrepresented to Nomân, who, forgetful of all he owed to his preceptor and patron, deceitfully invited him to Hîra, cast him into

* It is said that he was won over from idolatry to Christianity thus : the prince and his preceptor chanced in their walks to pass by a cemetery situated between the city and the river. Adi said, "Dost thou know what the inhabitants of these tombs say ? This is their language."

ايها رب المحبون علي الارض مجدون * مثل انتم حبيبا و
كما نحن تكونون *

رب رب قد اناخوا حولنا * يشربون الخمر بالماء الزلال *
نم اضحوا لعب الدهر بهم * وكذلك الدهر حال بعد حال *

" Oh ye company of travellers hastening along upon the earth and labouring !
Like you, we lived ; and like us, ye too shall die !

Many a company have made their camels kneel down around us ;—
And as they halted, quaffed wine mingled with the limpid stream ;—
The morning passed away, and lo ! they had become the sport of time :—
Even thus is time, but one state following upon another."—M. C. de Perceval,
Vol. II., p. 143.

Noman was deeply moved by the solemn warning conveyed in these touching lines, and embraced the Christian faith.

Others say that Simeon, the bishop of Hîra, delivered him from a demon by which he had been possessed ; and that thenceforward he became a Christian.

Under any circumstances it is agreed that he was converted before his accession to the throne.

prison, and, notwithstanding the endeavours of the king of Persia, put him to death. His widow, Hind, retired to a convent, which was thenceforward called by her name (*Dâyr Hind.*) She survived to see Hira fall into the hands of the Moslem army ; and, to crown the strange vicissitudes of her life, the Mahometan commander of Irâc, the warlike Mughîra, son of Shòba, repaired to the convent in the year 661 A. D., and demanded the hand of the princess, then about ninety years of age, in marriage. " If it were my youth or my beauty," she replied, " that dictated the proposal, I should not have refused ; but your desire is only that you may say '*the kingdom of Nomân, and his daughter have passed into my hands.*' Is not that your thought ?" Mughîra confessed that it was, and she scorned the union. Soon after the interview she died.

Hira no longer retained the prestige of victory over the Central Arabs. The troops of Nomân were discomfited by the Bani Yarbó, (a tribe of the Bani Tamîn,) from whom his court wished to take the post of *Ridâsu* or Lieutenancy, and give it to another branch.* The two sons of Nomân were captured on the occasion, but generously released by the Bani Yarbó, who appear to have retained their privilege.

Nomân V. is famous in the annals of Arabia, chiefly because his reign approached close to Islam, and he was the patron of several renowned poets who celebrated his name.† At length Zeid, the son of the unfortunate Adi, procured his disgrace at the Persian court, in revenge for the murder of his father. Zeid praised the beauties of Hira to the king of Persia, who readily adopted his suggestion, that some of their lovely faces might adorn his harem. An embassage was accordingly despatched to Nomân, who, surprised by the demand, expressed aloud his wonder, that the monarch of Persia was not satisfied with the *antelope* beauties of his own land. The term was equivocal, and Nomân was represented to have spoken of the females of Persia as *cows*. The wrath of Kesra fell upon his ungallant vassal, and he fled from Hira. After vainly wandering among the Arab tribes, and leaving his arms in the custody of Hâni, a chief of the Bani Bakr, he in despair delivered

* The *Ridf* took his place at the right hand of the king, rode behind him, &c. The office was established by Mundzir III. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p. 102.*)

† His name has descended in many ways. His partiality for the flower called the *ane-mone*, procured for it that name : for it was called *Shacâick an-nomân*, ^{نَعْمَانٌ شَقَائِقٌ} also a town built by him on the right bank of the Tigris, between Wasit and Bagdad, was called *Nomâniya* (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p. 156.*)

himself up to the king of Persia. The unfortunate prince was made to pass between two long rows of lovely Persian girls spendidly attired, and each taunted him with the question, whether *she* was a Persian *courtez*. He was cast into prison, and there died or was murdered. Thus ended the LAKHMETE DYNASTY, in the year 605 A. D., having lasted the venerable space of 327 years.

An Arab of the tribe of Tay, who had rendered service in action to the king of Persia, was raised by him, but within circumscribed limits, to the government of Hira. Meanwhile Kesra demanded of Hâni, the arms and property which No-mân had deposited with him. The Bani Bakr resented the claim, and indignant at the murder of No-mân, they arrayed themselves in opposition, and carried pillage and confusion into the Persian provinces. The king vainly endeavoured to interpose an obstacle, by granting to Cays, one of the Bakrite chiefs, a jagir around *Obolla*, on the right bank of the Tigris. But, notwithstanding the efforts and hospitality of Cays, the depredations still continued, and Kesra resolved on inflicting a signal tribulation upon his rebellious vassals. All the influence of Hîra was given to swell with Arab allies the innumerable Persian army, which was to crush the Bani Bakr. But the word of alarm had been given, and rapidly as it passed from clan to clan, amongst the ramifications of that great tribe, the Arabs flocked to the rendezvous in the valley of Dzu Cár. The ranks were about to close, when the iron-hearted Hantzala, who had by acclamation been chosen Commander, with his own hand severed the girths of the camels on which were seated his wife and the other women of the tribe; and thus abandoned them, in case of defeat, to certain captivity. The Arabs fought with desperate bravery, and the Persian army was completely routed. This defeat, ominous of the fate of Persia, took place A. D. 611. A few months previous, Mahomet, now forty years of age, had entered on his prophetic career.

Iyas, the Arab Governor of Hira, was shortly after deposed in disgrace; and Hîra, governed thereafter by a Persian grandee called Zâdiya, fell into the rank of a common Satrapy of Persia, and thus continued till it was swallowed up in the Mahometan Empire.

From the victory of Dzu Cár, the Bani Bakr continued independent. The other tribes of Central Arabia, who had hitherto been held in vassalship to the Persian king, through his Arab representative at Hira, now spurned the patronage of a foreign Satrap, and regarded with contempt the power of a nation

torn by discord, and paralysed by a succession of kings, so rapid and ceaseless, as to be incapable of continuous government. The warrior prophet of Arabia was now rising to view as the paramount chief in Arabia, and the central and western tribes, between 628 and 631 A. D., joyfully transferred their allegiance, from a foreign and decrepit power, to a native and vigorous government. But the Arab tribes of Mesopotamia, who professed Christianity, continued for some years longer to hold to Persia, and recognize its authority.

We now turn to the kingdom of the GHASSANITE Arabs, situated on the western side of the Syrian desert. The fortunes of Odenathus and Zenobia have been already traced. After their fall, the Romans would appear to have recognized as Kings or Phylarchs of the Syrian Arabs, the chiefs of the Bani Salih, (a Codháite tribe, which, as has been mentioned, migrated to Syria,) or of the Tonûkhites, who came westward from Hîra.

It has been related above how a great body of the Azdites emigrated from Yemen about 120 A. D. They halted in the Hejâz, on their northward progress; but after a lengthened residence in the valley of Batn Marr, not far from Mecca, the land became too strait for them, and again, in the beginning of the third century, they pursued their northward journey. It was now that they received the appellation of *Ghassân*, from their long residence by the way, near a fountain of that name. At last, during the dynasty of Odenath, they emerged on the plains of Bosra, near the country of Balcâa. The Bani Salih, who inhabited the vicinage, allowed them, by direction of the Roman authorities, to settle, but demanded tribute, which, after an unsuccessful struggle, the proud Ghassânites consented to pay. But they paid unwillingly, and bided their time. About the close of the third century, an altercation arose between one of their chiefs and the tax-gatherer of the Bani Salih, the latter was killed; both tribes took up arms, and the Ghassânite party were completely victorious. The Roman authorities took little interest in this struggle. They needed a barrier between Syria and the Persian frontier, but they were indifferent whether it should be composed of the Bani Salih, or of the Bani Ghassân. When the latter accordingly agreed to be their faithful allies, no difficulty was found in acknowledging their chief THALABA, the son of Amr, as the Phylarch or King of the Ghassânites. It was stipulated that, in case of need, the Arab should aid the Emperor with 20,000

men, while the Emperor guaranteed to succour his allies if attacked, by an army 40,000 strong.*

About the year 300 A.D., the Government passed into the hands of another THALABA,† the fifth in descent from Amr Mozaikia, and progenitor of the famous Ghassâne Dynasty. The history of this line is not so certain as that of Hîra. Here there was no fixed seat of Government; each Prince made choice of his own, or spent his life in the camp. The continuous evidence arising out of a settled capital being here deficient, we find much confusion in the number, succession, and names of the kings; while the presence of several subordinate or independent dynasties, on the borders of Arabia, which it is not always easy to distinguish from the Ghassâne, introduces another element of uncertainty.

The elevation of Thâlaba caused much jealousy and discontent, and two branches of the Ghassân tribe, descended from *Aws* and *Khazraj* (grandsons of Amr Mozaikia,) separated from their brethren, and returned southwards. They settled at Yathreb or Medina, where they will be found at a subsequent part of our story. On the first rise of Islam, they were still Pagans, and worshipped idols; a fact which seems to disprove the Arab account, that the Bani Ghassân professed Christianity, and built monasteries in the middle of our second century. It is indeed *possible* that the *Aws* and *Khazraj* relapsed into idolatry after quitting Syria; but it is more probable that the whole Ghassân tribe were then Pagan, and did not embrace Christianity till Constantine brought many political inducements to bear upon their conversion.

The discontent of the Ghassâne was speedily quelled by the success of HARITH, the son of Thâlaba (303—330 A.D.) in his predatory excursions. It is supposed that Christianity was adopted by the tribe under his successor JABALA (330—360 A.D.)‡

During the next reign,—that of HARITH II. (360—373 A.D.)

* These are the accounts of the Arab writers.

† *Arethas* or *Hârith* is a very frequent name of the Ghassân princes; but there is no ground for holding that it was a title common to *all* the Syrian Phylarchs. Several of the Ghassâne Kings called *Jabala*, are also styled *Hârith*; and it is possible that they took this surname (which signifies a *lion*) in opposition to that of Mundzir (*a dog*), borne by many of their rivals, the Kings of Hîra. (M. C. de Perc. vol. ii. p. 210.)

‡ This would be the period when politically its introduction was most probable. But there is no direct proof. Sozomenes asserts that an Arab Prince, *Zacome* (called by Liquieu *Zaracome*,) having obtained a son through the prayers of a monk, was with his whole tribe, converted to Christianity: but it is difficult to identify any such prince in the Ghassân line. The nearest approach M. C. de Perceval can make is in the name of *Aream*, a grandson of THALABA.

is thought to have occurred the ill-fated expedition of Julian against Persia. We learn from Roman history, that the Ghassânite allies, discontented with the stoppage of the accustomed subsidies, took advantage of the reverses of the imperial army, harassed its retreat, and cut up its rear guard.*

Hârith was succeeded by his widow MAVIA (373—380 A. D.) who turned her arms against the Romans, and devastated Phœnicia and Palestine. She defeated the troops sent against her; but consented to peace on condition that Moses, a man renowned for his miracles, should be sent as the Bishop of her nation. He was drawn from his solitude, and consecrated accordingly; and it is said that he destroyed the remains of idolatry among the Ghassânites. Mâvia gave her daughter in marriage to the Count Victor, and by her subsidy of Arab horse, contributed essentially to the defence of Constantinople against the Goths.† During the succeeding century little is known of the Ghassânite history, but an imperfect and sometimes confused list of names, and some warlike passages with the Kings of Hîra.

We pass on to JABALA III. (called also HARITH IV.,) 495—529 A. D. He belonged to another branch of the house of Thâlabâ, and many historians commence the Ghassân succession from him. He is styled *Al Akbar* (the Great or Elder,) as the first of three famous Hâritis who illustrated the fortunes of the dynasty. His wife *Mâria Dzât al Curtain* ("Maria of the ear-rings,") belonged to the Yemen tribe of Kinda, and her sister was married to the Kindaite prince, *Hojr Akil al Morar*. It is not certain how this alliance was contracted; but we find Hârith at war with the Kinda tribe, whose chief *Amr al Macsûr*, son of Hojr, he killed in battle. Hârith perished in an encounter with Mundzir III., of Hîra. Strange stories are related of the ear-rings of his wife, which are proverbial for inestimable value.‡ According to some she presented them, either before, or upon, her adoption of Christianity, to the temple at Mecca: according to others, they remained in possession of her descendants, and were worn by Jabala VI.,

* See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. ch. xxiv. But the name of "Malek Rodosaces, the renowned Emir of the tribe of Ghassân," it is not possible to connect with any in the Ghassânite line.

† This is from the Grecian historians, Theophanes and Ammianus. M. C. de Perceval shows that the Arabs appear to have confounded *Mâria* with *Maria*, a princess who lived about a century later:—another specimen of the critical skill of our Arab historians.

‡ Thus,—**ماربة** ماربة، **لوبقرطي** لوبقرطي Each, they say, was the size of a pigeon's egg.

when in 637 A. D., he visited Mecca to do homage to Omar.

The Roman historians notice, about this time, two Phylarchs, who must have been distinct from the Bani Ghassān. One called *Abo-Charib* (Abu Carib) received the chieftainship of the Arabs of Palestine, in exchange for a country washed by the Red Sea.* He assisted the Romans against the rebel Samaritans, and received in return 20,000 prisoners, whom he sold into Persia and Abyssinia. Cays, a Kindite prince, is also mentioned as having received an Arab Government from Justinian, about the year 536.†

HARITH V., surnamed *the Lame* (530—572 A. D.) is styled with satisfactory accuracy by Procopius, “Arethas, son of Gabala” (*Jabala III.*) He is celebrated for the honors showered upon him by Justinian, who, for the doubtful aid afforded against the Persians, conferred upon him the title of *king*,‡ and even the rank of Patrician. In 531 A. D., he contributed to the defeat of Belisarius, by his “treacherous or cowardly desertion” at the battle of Callinicus.§ Ten years later, he assisted Belisarius in an inroad upon Mesopotamia, and created a diversion in the ambitious plans of Chosroes: but again he acted treacherously, and secured for himself the sole booty of a rich tract of country, while, by false advices, he kept the Romans long waiting his return, under a pestilential sun.|| The Arab historians are silent as to these exploits, but they relate an expedition against the Jews of Tayma and Khaibar.

The wars of this prince with Hūra have already been related, under the reigns of Mundzir III. and Amr III. Hārith repaired, A. D. 562, to Constantinople, to complain of the hostilities of Amr, after the conclusion of peace, and to procure the recognition of his son Hārith, as his successor. It was towards the end of the reign of Hārith the Lame, that Mahomet was born.

* It is described as bounded by Palestine in the north, by the country of the *Mād-denians* on the south, stretching ten days' journey to the east, and producing only palms. (*Procopius.*)

† Malala and Theophanes refer to Hārith as having been in hostility with the Roman commander of Phenicia, and obliged to quit the province, and exile himself in the desert. During some such interregnum, the princes here referred to may have reigned: or Palestine may have formed a phylarchy, separate from that of the Bani Ghassān. It seems difficult to believe that *Abocharab*, the chief of Palestine, could have been the Hārith al Araj of the Arabs. (*M. C. de Perceval*, vol. ii., p. 237, Note 3.)

‡ Hitherto the title had been *Phylarch*.

§ See *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, chap. xli.

|| *Idem*, chap. xlii.

Of HÁRITH THE LESS (572—587 A. D.) little is related, but that he obtained a victory over Mundzir III., at Ayn Obâgh: and indeed the kingdom of the Ghassânites does not henceforth occupy any distinguished place in the pages of history. The successor of this prince, AMR IV., ABU SHAMMIR (587—597 A. D.) has been rendered illustrious by his patronage of the Arab poets. It was in his reign that Hassán Abu Thâbit, the famous poet of Islam and friend of Mahomet, first appeared at the Ghassânide court, where he met his fellow poets, Nâbigha and Alcama, and began to enjoy the favour of a dynasty, several of whose members visited him with peculiar honors.

From 600 to 630 A. D., the chief ruler of the Ghassânites was HÁRITH VII., son of Abu Shammir, whose residence appears to have been sometimes at Jabia, sometimes at Ammân (*Philadelphia*,) the capital of Balcâa.* In 629 A. D., Mahomet addressed to him a summons to join Islam, which he contemptuously refused; and shortly after he died.† Contemporaneously with Hárith, and, probably, subordinate to him, there reigned at Palmyra AYHAM, the son of Jabala; and there existed other inferior Governments, such as that of SHURAHBIL, son of Jabala IV., at Maâb, and Muta, in Arabia Petrea.‡

Meanwhile the prestige of the Ghassânide rule had departed. The inroads of the Persians, in the reign of Phocas, and in the early years of that of Heraclius, had given it a shock,

* At the end of the 5th century the rule of the chief branch of the Ghassânites extended over Jaulân and Haurân, as the following verses by Nâbigha Dhobiâni, on the death of Noman VI. (597—600 A. D.) prove.

بَيْ حَارِثَ الْجُولَانِ مِنْ نَقْدِ رِبَّهُ * وَ حُورَانَ مِنْهُ خَاشِ مِنْصَالِ

Jaulân (*Gaulonitis*, or the *Golan* of Deut, chap. iv, 43; Joshua, chap. xx., 1 Chron. chap. vi.) is the high mountainous country east of the lake of Tiberias. Haurân (*Auranitis*) is adjacent to it.

At this time there was, apparently, a division of the kingdom; for we find Hojr II. and Amr V., two grandsons of Hárith the Lame, ruling over the Arabs of Palestine as far as Ayla on the Red Sea, (590—615 A. D.). Thus Hassán Ibu Thâbit writes:—

مَنْ يَغْرِي الْوَهْرَ أَوْ يَأْمُنْهُ مِنْ قَبْلِ بَعْدِ عَمْرٍ وَ حَجْرٍ *
مَلَكًا مِنْ جَبَلِ التَّابُقِ إِلَيْ حَانِبِي إِلَهًا مِنْ عَبْدٍ وَ جَدٍ *

“Who shall deceive time, or feel secure from its attack henceforth, after Amr and Hojr, the two princes who ruled bondmen and free, from the snow capt hills, to the boundaries of Ayla.”—C. de Perc. p. 249.

The “mountains of snow” are likely the high ranges of Tiberias. This branch was probably overthrown in the destructive war again kindled between Persia and the West, in the first steps of which Chosroes overran Syria, plundered Antioch, Damascus, and Jerusalem, and carried his ravages even to the borders of Egypt.

+ Wâchidi, p. 50.

† See also the account of an embassy from Mahomet to certain rulers in Ammân. (Wâchidi, p. 50.)

from which it never recovered ; and it is remarked even by a Mahometan writer, that the decadence of the race of Ghassân was preparing the way for the glories of the Arabian Prophet.*

The last king of the race was JABALA VI., son of Ayham, (630—637 A. D.) The poet Hassân always spoke of this prince with affection, and with gratitude : and, although, on embracing Islam, he discontinued his visits to the Ghassâniye court, Jabala still continued to honor him by marks of his friendship. During Abu Bakr's Caliphate, this prince took an active, but always unfortunate, part, in opposing the inroads of the Moslem armies, and he shared in the humiliation of the mournful day of Yarmuk. When Heraclius abandoned Syria, he went over to Islam and Omar ; but his faith in the new prophet was neither deep nor lasting. On a fancied insult, he recanted, and retired to Constantinople, where his family and his name long survived.†

Of the rest of the world, Arabia maintained a singular independence of mind and institution. Egypt, Syria, Persia, as well as the Abyssinian kingdom of Axum, adjoined on Arabia, or were severed from it only by narrow inlets of the ocean ; yet they exercised but little influence upon the social and political fortunes of its inhabitants, who had no sympathy with their manners and their language ; while the hospitable deserts of the Peninsula never permitted the successful encroachment of foreign arms. But the dynasties of Hîra and the Ghassâniyes were native to Arabia, and composed of materials which blended with the Arab mind, and struck an impression upon it. Both in warlike and social relations, there was with them a close connection. It was through them the Arabs communicated with the external world, and derived their ideas of Europe as well as of Asia. Hîra was, besides, ever since the fall of the Himyar line, the paramount power in Central Arabia, whose supremacy was acknowledged by all. To this, and to the permanence and extent of its capital, was owing the superior *political* influence which it enjoyed, in comparison with the Ghassâniye kingdom. But the latter, though inferior to the court of Hîra in magnificence and stability, possessed an important *social* power, especially over the Western Arabs. It lay near Hejâz, and there was a frequent interchange of civility, both from casual visits, and the regular expeditions of the mercantile caravans. It is in this quarter, therefore, we

* Thâdîbi. *Tubucât al mulâk* (*M. C. de Perceval*, vol. ii., p. 2.)

† See Wâchidi, p. 51 : and *M. C. de Perceval*, vol. ii., p. 257.

must chiefly look for the external influences which moulded the opinions of Mecca and Medîna.*

Leaving now the outskirts of Arabia, we proceed to sketch the history of the chief tribes who occupied the centre of the Peninsula, and to trace the origin and rise of Mecca and Medîna.

The traditional history of Mecca, and of the line from which the Coreish descended, goes back further than that of the Bedouin tribes. Their fixed habitation in the valley of Mecca, strengthened and perpetuated local tradition, which, with a mixture of fable and fact, ascends to a century before the Christian era ; while the accounts of the other tribes do not, in general, commence more than two centuries before the birth of Mahomet.

The founding of Mecca, by Abraham and Ishmael, is so clearly a legendary fiction, that we should not advert to it at all, except to enquire in what facts or popular notions it took its rise. The outline of the legend, filled up as usual, with rich circumstantial colouring, is as follows. The wandering Hagar reaches the valley of Mecca ; in despair she hastens to and fro from the little hill of Marwa to that of Safa, seeking for water. Ishmael lies wailing on the ground ; but, lo ! as he passionately kicks around, a fountain bubbles forth beneath his feet ; it is the well of Zamzam. A tribe of Amalekites are tempted, by the fountain, to the spot, and among them the youthful Ishmael grows up. On an eminence in the vicinity, Abraham, in fulfilment of the divine behest, was about to offer up his son, when his arm was stayed, and a vicarious sacrifice was prescribed. The youth was married to an Amalekite wife, but during the absence of her husband, she proved inhospitable to his father, who arrived as a guest : and by the monition of Abraham, he put her away, and married another. Two Yemen tribes, the *Jorhom* and *Catûra*, about this time arrived in the vicinity : the wicked Amalekites, who vainly opposed their settlement, were expelled by a plague of ants ; and it was

* It is hence in the same direction, we must seek for the impression of Christianity, received by the Western Arabs. We have no very satisfactory intimation as to the peculiar phases of Christianity exhibited by Hira, and by the Ghassânites, respectively. The former, being independent of Constantinople, would be more likely to embrace and retain the Nestorian doctrines popular in the East. The Government of Ghassân was under Roman influence, and would, probably, embrace the Sectarian principles, whether Eutychian, Arian, or Orthodox, enforced by the Emperor of the day ; and thus these would eventually influence Western Arabia. But there is nothing to us more remarkable than the gross ignorance of some of the leading features of Christianity, which, notwithstanding all their means of information, is displayed by Mahomet and his early followers.

with the daughter of the Jorhom Chief, that Ishmael celebrated his second nuptials. On a subsequent visit, Abraham, assisted by his son, proceeded to erect the Kaaba, and to reconstitute the ancient rites of pilgrimage on the sacred spot. After Ishmael and his son Nâbit (*Nebaoth*,) the management of the temple devolved on Modâdh, the Jorhom Chief, who held the imposts of the Northern or Upper part of Mecca, while Samayda, the Catûra Chief, held the Southern. But a quarrel arose between the two tribes, and the Jorhom, assisted by the descendants of Ishmael (*Mustáriba*, i. e., half-caste Arabs,) expelled the Catûra, who joined, and were lost amongst, the Aimalekites. From this point (which the juxta-position with Ishmael would make at least 2,000 years anterior to Mahomet,) to Adnân, who lived a little before the Christian era, the legend is blank: and although the ready pen of the traditionists has supplied a list of Mahomet's progenitors to fill up the space, yet Mahomet himself never traced his pedigree higher than Adnân,* and declared all who went further back guilty of fabrication and falsehood.

Even in the time of Adnân, we find ourselves encompassed with legend and with doubt. Bakht-nassar, or Nebuchadnezzar,

* "Beyond Adnân," said Mahomet, "none but the Lord knoweth, and the genealogists lie" (كذب النسايون (Wâckidi, p. 9.) Yet Wâckidi, as well as other biographers, gives a list of some forty names between Adnân and Ishmael. The manner in which these genealogies have been got up, has been explained in a former paper. An anecdote regarding the Tadmorite Kabbin, similar to that quoted from Tabari, is given by Wâckidi (p. 9.) who also furnishes other intimations, that such like lists have been supplied from Jewish sources; thus Abu Abdallah, the Secretary of Wâckidi, writes:—

و لم ار بينهم اختلافا ان معد من اولاد قيدر بن اسماعيل و
هذا الاختلاف في نسبة يدل على انه لم يحفظ و انما اخذ
ذلك من اهل الكتاب و ترجمة لهم فاختلقو فيه ولو صحي
ذلك كان رسول الله اعلم الناس به فالامر عندنا على الانتهاء
ابي معد بن عدنان ثم الامساكن عمارة ذلك الي اسماعيل
ابن ابراهيم *

"And I have met with no difference of opinion in respect of Mâadd being of the children of Caydar, son of Ishmael; but this discrepancy in the genealogy between them, gives proof that the particulars of the descent have not been preserved, but have been taken from the Jews, and translated by them to the Arabs, and thus they differ in (their several versions of) this genealogy; and if this genealogy had been really a correct one, then the prophet of the Lord had been better acquainted with it than any other. So my conclusion is, that the genealogical detail ends with Adnân, and that we must hold back from anything beyond that till we reach Ishmael, son of Abraham." (Wâckidi, p. 94.)

This is a clear admission that up to Adnân Mahomet's genealogy is native and Arabic; but beyond that it has been borrowed from the Jews.

the traditionists say, attacked Arabia, and having routed Adnân and the Jorhomites, devastated Mecca, and carried off to Babylon a multitude of captives. But Providence watched over Adnân's son, Mâadd, whom, by the command of the Lord, Eremia and Abrakhia (Jeremiah and Baruch,) carried off and nurtured safely in the land of Harran. But between Mahomet and Adnân, there is an ascertained interval of but eighteen generations, and by careful calculation, the birth of Adnân cannot be assigned to an earlier date than 130 B. C.,* while the ravages of Nebuchadnezzar's army occurred 577 B. C. Thus, even in such comparatively modern events, does legend contemn the limitations of chronology.

After the expulsion of the Bani Catûra, the Jorhomites remained supreme at Mecca, and a list of their kings is given for nine generations, (*i. e.*, from about one century B. C., to nearly the end of the second century A. D.)† During this period, in which (according to the fond conceit of the Moslems,) the Jorhomites usurped the Ishmaelite privileges of the Kaaba, the following successions took place among the Coreishite ancestry.

ADNAN (born 130 B. C.) begot two sons, *Mâadd* and *Akk*. The descendants of Akk moved to the south of Jidda, and mingled with the Yemenites.

MÂADD† (born 97 B. C.) had four grand-sons, *Modhar*, *Rabia*, *Iyâd* and *Anmâr*,—all distinguished by a most prolific progeny, which was destined to play a conspicuous part in various quarters of the Peninsula. Of the two last, the posterity spread from Yemen to Irac. From Rabia sprang several notable tribes, viz., the *Bani Abd al Cays*, who eventually passed over to Bahrein, on the Persian gulph; the *Anaza*,§ who to this day overspread Arabia: the *Bani Nâmîr ibn Cüsît*, who settled

* This is the calculation of M. C. de Perceval. The dates of the more immediate progenitors of Mahomet are calculated at their ascertained ages. Beyond that, there being no other data, the length of each generation is reckoned at the average period of thirty-three years.

† In arranging the chronology of these Kings, tradition displays the most inimitable confusion. The first in the list is the father-in-law of Ishmael, while the daughter of the ninth is given in marriage to Mâadd, (about 50 B. C.) Again two generations later, the last of the dynasty is made coeval with *Fîhr Coreish*, who lived in the middle of the third century! This last, however, is a clear historical date, or at least is the likeliest to be so; and in calculating back therefrom, M. C. de Perceval arrives at the conclusion, that the *first* Joromite prince was coeval with Adnân, the earliest known ancestor of the Coreish. This is a very satisfactory coincidence, as traditional reminiscence would be likely enough to bring down the ancestral lines, both of the Jorhom and Coreish, from the same period.

‡ A tradition in Wâckidi makes Mâadd to be coeval with our Saviour. (p. 9.) This is, probably, a matter of calculation, and not of *bond fide* tradition: but it is quite possible that Mâadd may have been alive when our Saviour was born.

§ These are the *Ansars* of Burkhardt.

in Mesopotamia ; and finally the *Bani Bakr* and *Bani Taglib*, sons of Wâil, with their numerous branches, whose wars, famous in the annals of Arabia, will be alluded to hereafter.

MODHAR (born 31 B. C.) had two sons, *Eliyâs* and *Aylân*, the father of *Cays*. From the latter descended the powerful tribes of the *Bani Adwân*, *Ghatafan*, *Suleim*, *Hawazin*, and *Thakif*.

The descendants of *ELIYAS*, (born about the Christian era,) are from their Codhâite mother, termed the *Bani Khindif*; one of them, Tâbikha, was progenitor of the *Bani Mozaina*, and of the *Bani Tamîm*, famous in the history of Najd.

Another son, MUDRIKA (born 35 A. D.) was the father of *Khozaima*, and *Hodzail*. The latter was the ancestor of the *Bani Hodzail*, distinguished in the annals both of war and of poetry, and as we learn from Burkhardt, still occupying under the same name the environs of Mecca.*

KHOZAIMA (born 68 A. D.) begat *Asad* and *Kindâna*. The *Bani Asad* retired to Najd, but were subsequently expelled by Yemen tribes ; and returned to the Hejâz, where they bore a prominent part in opposing the arms of Mahomet.

KINANA (born 101 A. D.) had six sons, each of whom became the chief of a numerous family. Among them was *Abd Monât*, the father of Bakr, and through him, of the *Bani Dûil*, *Laith*, and *Dhamra*. But the most illustrious of his sons was NADHIR (born 134 A. D.) the grand-father of FIHR (born 200 A. D.) surnamed *Coreish*,† and the ancestor, at the distance of eight generations, of the famous *Cussai* (born 400 A. D.)

Up to the era of Nadhr, or of his son Mâlik, the Jorhomites retained their supremacy. But towards the end of the second century, the Azdite immigration, of which we have repeatedly spoken, took place, and a horde of Azdite adventurers settled at Batn Marr, a valley near Mecca. The Jorhomites, jealous of these neighbours, endeavoured to expel them, but were

* *Travels in Arabia*, Vol. I., pp. 63—64.

† NADHR is sometimes styled *Coreish*, but it is more frequently *FIHR*, or his son MÂLIK, to whom the appellation is first accorded. See *Wâckidi*, p. 124.—*Tabâri*, p. 40, where a variety of origins are given for this name. The likeliest is the meaning *noble* ; but it is also possible that the Coreish, by the illustration of what was simply a proper name, may have *conferred* upon it that meaning. Others say that Nadhr had a guide called by that name, and as his mercantile caravan approached, it used to be saluted as the “Caravan of *Coreish*,” and thus the appellation passed to him. Again it is derived from a metaphorical resemblance to a fish called *Coreish*, which eats up all others ; or to *tursh*, a high-bred camel. Others refer it to a root which signifies *to trade*. (M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 229.) Wâckidi (p. 12) had a theory that the name was first given to *Cussai*, who gathered together the descendants of *FIHR*. Sprenger adopts this notion, and makes *Cussai* the first real personage in the line, and *FIHR* a myth : but this seems an excess of scepticism. (*Life of Mohammad*, p. 19.) See also traditions in *Tabâri*, pp. 41, 42, in favour of *Cussai*, as the first called by the name *Coreish*.

worsted in the attempt. Meanwhile, the Māaddite* tribes (or ancestors of the Coreish,) were engaged in a similar, but more successful struggle, with a body of Codhāite adventurers, who were endeavouring to establish themselves between Mecca and Tāif. The Codhāites, feeling that they could not maintain the contest, retired, as we have before noticed, towards Syria and Bahrein.

Meanwhile a party of the Azdites (the Ghassān, Aws, and Khazraj) quitted Batn Marr; but they left behind them a portion of their colony, thence styled the *Bani Khozāa* (the 'remnant,') under the command of *Amr, son of Lohai*, and great-grandson of Amr Mozaikia.† With the Khozāa, the Meccan families of Bakr (son of Abd Monat,) and the Bani Iyād, combined; and falling upon the Jorhomites, slaughtered and expelled them from the Tihāma. Modhād, the last king of the Jorhom dynasty, at his departure, or previously (foreseeing as they say that his people would be overthrown for their wickedness) buried in the vicinity of the Kaaba, and by the well Zamzam (by this time choked up), two gazelles of gold, with swords and suits of armour.‡ These events occurred about 206 A. D.

It would seem that the Bani Iyād then contended with the other Māaddite tribes, for the charge of the Kaaba, now vacated by the Jorhomites; but that they were worsted in the struggle, and emigrated towards Irac, where, as we have seen, they took part in the establishment of the kingdom of Hīra.

But the descendants of Māadd were destined to be still excluded from the administration of the Kaaba and of Mecca: for about 207 A. D., it was seized upon by their allies, the Khozāa, whose chief, Amr, and his descendants held the govern-

* That is, the *Bani Māadd*, or families descended from the son of Adnān. The term *Bani* prefixed to any of Mahomet's ancestors, as *Bani Adnān*, *Bani Nizār*, *Bani Fīhr*, is of course extensive in proportion to the remoteness of the name with which it is coupled. Thus the *Bani Modhar* include the branches of Hawāzin and Ghatafan; but do not include those of Bakr and Tagħlib: while the *Bani Nizār* (father of Modhar,) include both. The *Bani Fīhr* again (being lower down,) include neither, but are confined to the Coreish. In speaking of the ancestry of Mahomet, and the tribes related to him by blood, it is convenient to style them the *Bani Māadd*, a comprehensive title including all.

† One would expect no doubt to exist on the filiation of so important a tribe. Nevertheless, it is held by a few that the Khozāa are of the Māaddite stock; but the great body of writers give them the origin assigned in the text, which is also supported by the following verses of Hassān Ibu Thābit, who thus traces a common origin between his own tribe (the Khazraj of Medina,) and the Khozāa.—

وَ لَمْ يَرْجِعُنَا بَطْرٌ مِّنْ تَخْرُعَتْ * خَرَاعَهُ مِنَا فِي بَطْرٍ كَرَاكُورْ *

"And when we sojourned at Batn Marr, the Khozāa, with their families, separating from us, remained behind." (M. O. de Perceval, Vol. I, p. 217.)

‡ These were the ornaments and armour subsequently dug up by Abd al Muttalib, Mahomet's grand-father.

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ment of the country for upwards of two centuries.* Still three important offices were secured by the Māaddite tribes. *First*, the NĀSI, or commutation of the holy months, and intercalation of the year, was held by a descendant of Kināna. *Second*, the IJAZA, or signal and arrangements for the departure of the pilgrims from Mount Arafat and Minā, exercised by the *Bani Sūfa*, descendants of Tābikha, son of Elyās. *Third*, the IFADHA, or heading the procession from Muzdalifa, enjoyed by the *Bani Adwān*.†

The position of parties remained in this state till the beginning of the fifth century, by which time the Coreish had advanced, in numbers and power, so as to rival their Khozāaité rulers. It was reserved for CUSSAI, the fifth in ascent from Mahomet, to assert the real or imaginary right of his tribe to the guardianship of the Kaaba, and the command of Mecca. The outline of his romantic story is as follows:—

KILAB (born 365 A.D.) the sixth in descent from Fihir Coreish, died, leaving two sons, *Zohra* and *Zeid* (born A.D. 400:) the former grown up, the latter a suckling. His widow married a man of the Codhāite tribe Odzra, and followed him with little Zeid, to her new home in the highlands south of Syria, where she gave birth to another son called Rizāh. When Zeid grew up, he was named CUSSAI, because of the separation from his father's house; but at last, learning the noble rank of his ancestry, he resolved to return to Mecca, and travelled thither with a company of the Odzra pilgrims. At Mecca he was recognized by his brother Zohra, and at once received into the position his birth entitled him to hold.‡

* The tale explaining how this happened is at the best doubtful. The *Bani Iyād*, as they quitted the country, resolved to do all the mischief they could, by removing the black stone from the Kaaba, and burying it secretly. A Khozāite female alone witnessed where it was put, and the Khozāites agreed to restore it, only on condition that the Kaaba was made over to them; with the Kaaba, the temporal power followed also. No such unlikely tale as this is required. The Khozāes were evidently at this period more powerful than the Meccan tribes. To them the chief merit of driving out the Jorhomites was due, and they naturally succeeded to their place. (*Cnf. M. de Sacy, Mem. sur Arabes avant Mahomet*, pp. 66—67.)

† *Vide Tabari*, p. 72—*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., pp. 220—240; Vol. II., p. 262; —*Sprenger*, p. 6, note ii., and p. 7, note iv. The Nāsi or intercalary system, M. C. de Perceval traces from the beginning of the fifth century, or about thirty years before Cussai's accession to power. The new mode of calculating the era might originate then, but not the faculty of transposing the months, which was probably of old standing.

‡ *Tabari*, p. 26 *et seq.*—*Wackidi*, p. 114. Sprenger treats this as a fictitious story, framed to cover Cussai's foreign extraction, and “greedily adopted by Mahometan authors,” to save the Ishmaelite lineage of their Prophet. (p. 18.) This view is ingenious, but surrounded with insuperable difficulties.

1. The story is evidently not of late growth, but grounded on ancient and Islamic tradition.

2. Considering the attention given by the Arabs to genealogical details, it

Cussai was a man of commanding person, and of an energetic and ambitious mind. He was treated with great distinction by Holeil, the Khozâite King, who gave him his daughter Hobba in marriage, and permitted him, or his wife, to assume the immediate management of the Kaaba, and, perhaps, some of the functions of the Government. On the death of Holeil, Cussai, who had now four adult sons, and had rapidly advanced in wealth and influence, perceived his opportunity, and having canvassed among the Coreish for support, bound them together in a secret league. He also wrote to his brother Rizâh to come to his aid at the ensuing pilgrimage, with an armed band of the Bani Odzra; for even the Khozâa are said to have outnumbered the Coreish.*

Cussai opened his clandestine measures, by the violent assertion of his claim to the right of dismissing the assembled Arab tribes from Minâ, when the ceremonies of the pilgrimage were finished. From remote times, this had been the office of the Bani Sûfa (a distant branch collateral with the Coreish,) who repressed the impatient multitude, took precedence in flinging the stones at Minâ, and marshalled the dispersion of the assembly, their own tribe taking the lead.

On the present occasion the Bani Sûfa, stationed on the eminence of Ackaba, in the defile of Minâ, were on the point of giving the usual command, when Cussai stepped forth and claimed the privilege. It was disputed; weapons were drawn, and after a sharp encounter, in which Rizâh, with 300 of the Bani Odzra, rushed to the succour of Cussai, the Sûfa yielded their office, with the victory, to their opponent.

The Khozâa looked on with jealousy at this usurpation of prescriptive right, and began to entertain suspicions, lest Cus-

appears incredible that the story should have been foisted into currency without some foundation.

3. The only remaining supposition would be that Cussai was not the little Zeid taken to the highlands of Syria, by Kilâb's widow. But there would be not only the testimony of the widow, and of her second husband, and of their acquaintance among the Bani Odzra, to establish this fact, but also the family recognition of relatives. Zohra, though blind (not necessarily from old age) recognized his brother's voice. To those who have noted how personal peculiarities are often handed down from father to son, this will not appear impossible, though Dr. Sprenger rejects the idea.

4. Cussai had many enemies among the Khozâa, Bani Bakar, and Bani Sûfa, and there were numerous other Coreishite branches, who would not have failed to seize upon and perpetuate any story casting doubt upon Cussai's Coreishite origin. Yet we do not observe in any quarter the shadow of a traditional suspicion; because, (as we believe,) Cussai was actually received on good grounds and by common consent, as the veritable son of Kilâb. Zohra and Cussai are said to have been both poets.

* *Tubari*, p. 29.

sai should seek to snatch from them also their hereditary title to the supremacy over the Hejâz. They prepared to resist, and associated with themselves the Bani Bakr, their old allies, in the expulsion of the Jorhomites. The Coreish rallied round Cussai, who was again supported by Rizâh and his comrades, and a second but more general and bloody action ensued. The field remained uncertain, for the carnage was so great, that the combatants mutually called for a truce, and surrendered the decision of their claims into the hands of Amr, an aged sage. The umpire, though of Bani Bakr descent, affirmed the assumptions of Cussai: yielded to him the guardianship of the Kaaba, and the Government of Mecca; and, still more strongly to mark the justice of his position, decreed the price of blood for all men killed on his side, while the dead on the other side were to pass unavenged by fine.*

Thus, about the middle of the fifth century (or perhaps 440 A. D.) the command of Mecca passed into the hands of Cussai. The first act of his authority, after the Khozâa and Bani Bakr had evacuated Mecca, and the Odzra allies had been dismissed, was to bring within the valley of the Kaaba, the whole of his kinsmen of Coreish descent, many of whom had previously lived in the mountain glens surrounding Moëca.† The town was laid out anew, and to each family was allotted a separate quarter, which was held with such tenacity, that the same partition was still extant in the time of the Mahometan historians. So large an influx of inhabitants, joined to the regular distribution of the land, swelled the city far beyond its previous bounds; and the site of the new habitations trenched

* This is the most received account. There are other narratives which it may be interesting to mention, though they more or less contradict that given in the text. *First.* Holeil the Khozâite king openly held that Cussai was the best entitled to succeed him; and therefore left to him, by will, the inheritance of his power. *Second.* Holeil gave up the care of the Kaaba, with its keys, to his daughter Hobba, Cussai's wife; and appointed a man called Ghubshân (some say he was her son) to assist her. Cussai made him drunk, and purchased from him the command, for a skin of wine and some camels; but the Khozâa rose up against Cussai, when he began to exercise his privileges, whereupon he sent for aid to his brother Rizâh, &c. Wâckidi says (p. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$) that this occurred at a time when Ghubshân was enraged at the Meccaans for withholding the customary cessees at the season of pilgrimage, and that after the bargain (as above,) he vacated Mecca in favor of Cussai. A third statement is, that the Khozâa were attacked by a deadly pestilence, which nearly extirpated them, and that they resolved to evacuate Mecca, selling, or otherwise disposing of, their houses there. All these accounts will be found in *Tabari*, pp. 27–32, and *Wâckidi*, pp. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 12.

† *Tabari*, p. 29. But some (as the *Bani Muhârib*, and *Bani Hâarith*, descendants of Fîhr Coreish,) still preferred their semi-nomad life outside of Mecca, and were thence styled قريش الظواهر in contradistinction to the قريش البطاح those of the vale of Mecca. (*Wâckidi*, p. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$.)

upon the acacias and brushwood of the valley,* which the superstition of the place had invested with so peculiar a sanctity, that the people feared to remove them. Cussai, superior to such scruples, seized a hatchet; and the people following his example, the trees were soon removed. From effecting this re-union of his clan, Cussai was called *Mujammi*, or the "Gatherer."†

The next civic work of Cussai was to build a Council House, or Town Hall, called *Dâr-al-Nadwa*, having its porch opening towards the Kaaba, near which it stood.‡ Here all political movements were discussed, and social ceremonies solemnized.

In the Town Hall, the girls first assumed the dress of womanhood, and their marriages were celebrated; from thence all caravans set forth; and thither the traveller, on returning from his journey, first bent his steps. When war was resolved upon, it was there that the banner *Liwâ* was mounted by Cussai himself, or by one of his sons. By assuming the Presidency in the Hall of Council, Cussai riveted his authority as the Sheikh of Mecca, and Governor of the country; "and his ordinances were obeyed, and venerated as one does the observances of religion, both before and after his death."§

* وَكَثِيرٌ أَشْجَرُ الْعَصَّةِ، وَالسَّلْمُ (*Wâckidi*, p. 12.).

† مُجْمَعٌ According to some, as we have seen, he was also called *Coreish*. But the received doctrine refers that title many generations back. Weil conjectures that Cussai was the first Coreish; and that it was not till after Mahomet's death that the appellation (the bearers of which were held by the Prophet to be the noblest Arabs, and the best entitled to the Government,) was extended higher and wider, in order to take in Omar and Abu Bakr, whose collateral branches separated from the main line above Cussai. The limiting of the title to the descendants of Cussai, is denounced by the Sunnies as a Shie-ite heresy. Weil looks upon this as strengthening his theory; but we confess the charge of Shia fabrication appears to us a very likely one. They first endeavoured to limit the title, in order to throw suspicion upon the early Caliphs and the house of Omeya. Again, supposing the existence of the motive imagined by Weil, why should the clumsy expedient have been adopted of going back to Fîhr or Nadhr, three or four generations earlier than Kâb, the common ancestor, both of Mahomet, and the three first Caliphs? It is *possible* (but we think not *probable*), that the term Coreish was introduced first in the time of Cussai; but if so, it was then used to denominate tribes *he drew together*, and thus the whole of the descendants of Fîhr. (See *Weil's Mohammed*, p. 4, note iv.) This conclusion would correspond with the tradition that, before the time of Cussai, the Coreish were termed the *Bani Nadhr*. (*Wâckidi*, p. 12.).

‡ He is said also to have rebuilt the Kaaba, as the Jorhom had done before, and to have placed the images Hobal, Isâf, and Nâila, in it. (See *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 249.—*Sprenger*, p. 20.) But the authority seems doubtful. From his being said to have rebuilt the Kaaba, has arisen the opinion adopted by Sprenger, that Cussai founded both the Kaaba and Mecca; an opinion which appears to contradict both probability and tradition.

§ *Vide Tabari*, p. 32 et seq.—*Wâckidi*, p. 12 et seq.

Besides these civil offices, Cussai possessed the chief religious dignities connected with the Meccan worship. The *Hijâba* gave him the keys, and the control of the Kaaba. The *Sicâya*, or giving of drink to the pilgrims; and the *Risâda*, or providing them with victuals, were his sole prerogatives; and in the eyes of the generous Arabs, invested his name with a peculiar lustre. During the pilgrimage, leathern cisterns were established at Mecca, at Minâ, and at Arafat;* and he stimulated the hospitality of the inhabitants to subscribe annually an ample fund, which was expended by himself in the gratuitous distribution of food to the pilgrims.

He did not assume the minor offices of marshalling the processions on the ceremonial tour to Arafat, (though it was ostensibly for one of those offices he first drew the sword,) nor the post of *Nisâ*, or commutation of holy months;† but being the paramount authority, these duties would be executed in strict subordination to his will. "Thus," writes Tabari, "he maintained the Arabs in the performance of all the prescriptive rites of the pilgrimage; and that because he believed them in his heart to form a religion which it behoved him not to alter."‡

The religious observances, thus perpetuated by Cussai, were in substance the same as in the time of Mahomet, and (with some alterations) as we find practised in the present day. The grand centre of the religion was the Kaaba; to visit which, kiss the black stone, and make seven circuits round the sacred edifice, was at all times regarded as a holy privilege. The LITTLE pilgrimage (*Omra* or *Hajj al Asghar*,) which involved these acts, and the rite of hastily passing to and fro seven times between the little hills of Safa and Marwa, close by the Kaaba, might be performed with merit at any season; but especially in the sacred month of Rajab, which formed a break in the middle of the eight secular months. Before entering the sacred territory, the votary assumed the pilgrim garb (*ihrâm*,) and at the conclusion of the ceremonies shaved his head, and pared his nails.

* In the palmy days of Islam, stone aqueducts and ponds took the place of this more primitive fashion. (*Caf. Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia*, pp. 59 and 267—and *Ali Bey*, Vol. II., p. 68.) The giving of water to the inhabitants of Mecca from wells without the town, is stated as the origin of the custom of *Sicâya*: (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 239.) The custom however appears rather to have been originally connected with the well Zamzam, the source of Mecca's ancient prosperity. But according to tradition, we must suppose this famous well to have been at this period filled up, as Abd al Motalib was the first to open it after its neglect.

† *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 240—*Tabari*, pp. 34 and 72.

‡ *Tabari*, p. 34.

The GREAT pilgrimage (*Hajj al Akbar,*) involved all the ceremonies of the little pilgrimage, but it could be performed only in the holy month, Dzul Hijja ; and it concluded with the additional rite of repairing to Arafat (a small granite hill in a mountain country, some eighteen miles east of Mecca,*) on the 9th of the month ; returning that night to Mozdalifa ; and next morning (10th) proceeding to Minâ (midway between Arafat and Mecca,) where the two succeeding days were spent ; each pilgrim repeatedly casting small stones at certain objects, and concluding the pilgrimage by the sacrifice of some victim, a camel, a sheep, or a kid.

At what remote period the country about Mecca began to be regarded as inviolable (Haram,) we have no means of judging ; but the institution of the four sacred months appears to have formed an ancient, and, perhaps, original part of the system. These were three consecutive months, viz., the last two, and the first of each year (*Dzul Câada, Dzul Hijja, and Moharram,*) and the seventh (*Rajab*). During them, by unanimous consent, war was suspended, hostile feelings suppressed, and an universal amnesty reigned over Arabia. Pilgrims from every quarter were then free to repair to Mecca ; and fairs throughout the land, were thronged by those whom merchandize, or the contests of poetry, brought together.

There is reason for supposing that the Meccan year was originally a lunar one, and continued so till the beginning of the fifth century, when, in imitation of the Jews, it was turned, by the interjection of a month at the close of every third year, (*Nisâ,*) into a luni-solar period.† If by this change, it was

* For descriptions of the hill of Arafat and adjoining plain, See *Burkhardt's Arabia*, p. 266, and *Ali Bey*, Vol. II., p. 67.

† The question has been well discussed by M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 242 et seq.—and in the *Journal Asiatique*, Avril 1843, p. 342, where the same author has given a “*Mémoire sur le Calendrier Arabe avant l'islamisme.*” It is assumed that the months (as in other rude nations) were originally purely lunar, and that thus the month of pilgrimage came (as it now does in the Moslem calendar,) eleven days earlier every year, and in thirty-three years performed a complete revolution of the seasons. It is supposed that the inconvenience of providing for the influx of pilgrims at all seasons, led to the idea of fixing the month of pilgrimage, when it came round to October or autumn, invariably to that part of the year by a system of intercalation. Tradition notes the series of *Nâsi* officers who performed the duty. The first of these was Sarîr, a man closely connected with the Coreish, and whose genealogy would make him sixty or seventy years of age at the close of the fourth century ; so that (if we trust to tradition,) the origin of intercalation could not have been much later than the beginning of the fifth century. The Arab historians are not agreed upon the nature of the intercalation practised at Mecca. Some say seven months were interposed every nineteen years ; others nine months every twenty-four years ; but, (L.) These are evidently *supposed* systems, formed on calculation to give a true solar year, and the first having

intended to make the season of pilgrimage correspond invariably with the autumn, when a supply of food for the vast multitude would be easily procurable, that object was defeated by the still remaining imperfection of the cycle; for the year being yet shorter by one day and a fraction than the real year, each recurring season accelerated the time of pilgrimage: so that, when after two centuries, intercalation was prohibited by Mahomet (A. D. 631.) the days of pilgrimage had moved from October, gradually backward to March.

Coupled with this, and styled by the same name, (*Nisād*), was the privilege of commuting the last of the three sacred months, for the one succeeding it, (*Safar*), in which case Moharram became secular, and Safar sacred. It is probable that this innovation was introduced by Cussai, who wished, by abridging the long three months' cessation of hostilities, to humour the warlike Arabs, as well as to obtain for himself the power of holding

been introduced by the Jews only about the end of the fourth century, was not likely to have been so immediately adopted at Mecca; and (II.) Neither system would answer the likely requirement of bringing the month of pilgrimage in two centuries from autumn round to spring. Other Arab writers say that a month was interjected at the close of every third year; and this is the system recognized by M. C. de Perceval, apparently on good grounds; for (1) it exactly corresponds to the revolution of the pilgrimage month from autumn to spring in two centuries, as is clearly shown in the chronological table attached to his Vol. I., and it also corresponds with the fact of the pilgrimage month having, in 541 A. D., fallen at the summer solstice, when Belisarius on that account refused to let his Syrian allies leave him. (See above, note § p. 28.) (2.) It was the system previously tried by the Jews, who intercalated similarly a month at the close of every third year, called *Ve-adar*, or the second Adar; and there is *a priori* every likelihood that the practice was borrowed from the Jews. (3.) The tradition in favor of this view is more likely than the others to be correct, because it could have originated in no astronomical calculation. (4.) Although it would change the months to various seasons, yet it would do so gradually, so that the months might meanwhile acquire and retain names corresponding with the character of the seasons. Such nomenclature probably arose on the months first becoming comparatively fixed, i. e., in the beginning of the fifth century, and thus the names *Rabi*, *Jumāda*, *Ramadhan*, signifying respectively *rain* and *verdure*, the *cessation of rain*, and *heat*, clung by the months long after they had become misnomers.

M. de Sacy's view that intercalation was practised at Medina, while a purely lunar calculation prevailed at Mecca, is clearly opposed to the fact, that a common system of calculation obtained over the whole Peninsula, the time of pilgrimage being one and undisputed. (*Mem. sur Arabes avant Mahomet*, pp. 123—143.)

An important corollary from M. de Perceval's conclusion is that all calculations up to the end of Mahomet's life must be made in luni-solar years, and not in lunar years, involving a yearly difference of ten days. It will also explain certain discrepancies in Mahomet's life, some historians calculating by the luni-solar year in force in the period under narration; others adjusting such periods by the application of the lunar year subsequently adopted. Thus some make their prophet to have lived sixty-three or sixty-three and a half years, others sixty-five: the one possibly being luni-solar, the other lunar years.

Moharram either sacred or secular, as might best suit his purposes.*

In reviewing this account of Mecca and its religion, the origin of the temple and of the worship demands our attention. The Mahometans, as we have seen, attribute them to Abraham and Ishmael, and connect a part of their ceremonial with biblical legends; but their traditional narrative we have already concluded to be a mere fable, devoid of probability and of consistency.† Farther considerations will strengthen the con-

* The third successor from Sarîr (who first held the office of *Nâsi*) was Hodzeifa the First, who, in addition to the intercalation, *commuted* one sacred month for another. This may very well bring the system of *commutation* under Cussai, as supposed by M. C. de Perceval. Besides exchanging Moharram for Safar (hence called the "two *Safars*") some say the power existed of commuting the isolated sacred month (Rajab) for the one succeeding it, Shâbân; whence they were called the "two Shâbâns." When this was done, it became lawful to war in Mohurram or Rajab; and Safar or Shâbân acquired the sacredness of the months in the stead of which they were placed. (Cnf. Sprenger, p. 7. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 249—*Journal Asiatique Avril*, 1843, p. 350.) It appears however to us more likely that the system of *commutation* was an ancient one, more remote, probably, than that of intercalation: but it had perhaps fallen out of use, and Cussai may have brought it into practice more prominently than before. (See note †, p. 44 of this Article.)

† M. C. de Perceval rejects the Ishmaelite traditions, but still holds them mythically to shadow forth actual facts. Thus, although Nebuchadnezzar's invasion was in 577 B. C., and Adnân, who is said to have been routed by him, could not have lived earlier than 100 B.C., "Yet," says he, "this is not a sufficient reason for banishing the legend into the domain of fable. It may contain some traits of real facts, as well as many ancient traditions, modified and arranged in modern times."

"The posterity of Ishmael, vanquished and nearly destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar II., as prophesied by Jeremia, then long after reviving and multiplying through some branches that escaped the sword, appears to me to be personified under Adnân and Mâadd,—names pertaining to a comparatively recent epoch, and employed by anticipation."

"In truth, the distance which separates Mâadd and Adnân from Nebuchadnezzar, and the breach in the continuity of the chain (between Adnân and Ishmael,) might at first sight make one doubt whether *Adnân were really of Ishmaelite issue*. But opinion is so unanimous with regard to that descent, that not to admit its truth would be an excess of scepticism. The Arabs of the Hejâz and Najd, have always (?) regarded Ishmael as their ancestor. This conviction, the source of their respect for the memory of Abraham, is too general, and too deep, not to repose on a real foundation. In fine, Mahomet, who gloried in his Ishmaelite origin, was never contradicted on that point by his enemies, the Jews."

"I accept then the legend interpreted in this sense, that at a time more or less posterior to Nebuchadnezzar II., some feeble relics of the race of Ishmael, designated under the collective and anticipative denomination of *Mâadd*, and preserved, it may be, amongst the Israelites, appeared in the country of Mecca, occupied then by the Jorhomites:—that in the sequel, Mâadd, son of Adnân (not now in the collective, but probably individual sense,) one of the descendants of Ishmael, united himself, by marriage, with the tribe of Jorhom, and became the progenitor of a numerous population, which subsequently, covered the Hejâz and Najd."

"Here occurs a singular approximation of two distant events. This establishment of Mâadd on the territory of Mecca, and his marriage with the Jorhom princess, are an exact repetition of what is reported of Ishmael his ancestor. *In this double set of facts, Ishmael is undoubtedly a myth; Mâadd is probably a reality.*" (M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p. 183—Cnf. also note †, page 41 of this Article.)

viction that Mecca and its rites cannot possibly claim an Abrahamic origin.

First. There is not the slightest trace of anything Abrahamic in the essential elements of the superstition. To kiss the black stone, to make the circuit of the Kaaba, and perform the other observances at Mecca and the vale of Arafat, to keep the sacred months, and to hallow the sacred territory, have no conceivable connection with Abraham, or with the ideas and principles which his descendants would be likely to inherit from him. The rites were either strictly local, or connected with the system of idolatry prevailing in the south of the Peninsula, and originated in causes foreign to the country chiefly occupied by Abraham's race.

Second. A very high antiquity must be assigned to the main features of the religion of Mecca. Although Herodotus does not refer to the Kaaba, yet he names as one of the chief Arab divinities ALILAT; and this is strong evidence of the worship, at that early period, of *Allât*, a Meccan idol.* He makes likewise a distant allusion to their veneration for stones.† Diodorus Siculus, who wrote about half a century before our era, in describing that part of Arabia washed by the Red Sea, uses the following language:—"there is, in this country, a temple greatly revered by all the Arabs."‡ These words can hardly refer to anything but the holy house of Mecca, for we know of no other which ever commanded the homage of all Arabia. Early historical tradition gives no trace of its first construction; some assert that the Amalekites rebuilt it, and retained it for a time under their charge;§ all agree that it

* Ουνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον, Ὀροτάλ. τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλιλατ. (Herod, III., 8.) The identification generally held between *Orotal* and *Allâh Tuâla*, appears to us to be too remote and fanciful for adoption: but Cnf. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 174, and Rosenmüller's Geog., Vol. III., p. 294; with Pococke's Specimen, p. 110. For Ὀροτάλ there are the various readings Ουροτάλτ, and Οροτάλτ.

† Σέβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὅμοια τοισι μάλιστα. ποιεῦνται δὲ αὐτῶν τρόπω τοιφδε. τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πιστα ποιεσθαι, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀμφοτέρων αἰτῶν ἐν μεσῳ ἑστέως, λίθῳ ὅξει τὸ ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρα τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις, καὶ ἔπειτα λεβδὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἐκατέρον κροκύδα, ἀλείφει τῷ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμενούς λίθους ἐπτά. τοῦτο δὲ ποιέων, ἐπικαλέει τὸν τε Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην. (Herod, loc. cit.) Thus the hands of the contracting parties were first cut with a sharp stone, and the blood was then rubbed upon seven stones placed in the midst, and at the same time the divinities were invoked. There is here a close blending of the stones with religious worship.

‡ M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p. 174, and authorities there cited.

§ See the authorities quoted by Sprenger, p. 15.

was in existence under the Jorhom dynasty,* (about the time of the Christian era,) and that having been injured by a flood of rain, it was by them repaired. It was again repaired by Cussai.

From time immemorial, tradition represents Mecca as the scene of a yearly pilgrimage from *all* quarters of Arabia : from Yemen, Hadhramaut, and the shores of the Persian Gulph, and from the deserts of Syria, and the remote environs of Hîra and Mesopotamia. Thus the circuit of its veneration might be described by a radius of a thousand miles, interrupted only by the interposition of the sea. So universal an homage must have had its beginnings in a very remote age ; and a similar antiquity must be ascribed to the essential concomitants of the worship, the Kaaba, with its black stone, the sacred limits, and the holy months. The origin of a superstition, thus ancient and universal, may naturally be looked for in the country itself, and not in any foreign source.

Third. The native systems of Arabia were Sabeanism, idolatry, and *stone worship*, all closely connected with the religion of Mecca.

There is reason for believing that Sabeanism, or the worship of the heavenly bodies, was the earliest form of departure in Arabia, from the pure adoration of the deity. The book of Job, and many historical notices, and certain early names in the Himyar dynasty, imply the prevalence of the system.† As late as the fourth century, we have seen that sacrifices were

* That the Bani Jorhom must have had a hand either in the construction or repair of the Kaaba, Zahair in his *Mullaaca* testifies :—

فَاقْسِمْتَ بِالبَيْتِ الَّذِي طَافَ حَوْلَهُ رِجَالٌ بَنُوَّهُ مِنْ قُوَّيشٍ وَجَرَهُمْ

“I swear by that house, which is encircled by the Coreish and Jorhom, who built it.” (*Sir W. Jones, Vol. X., p. 356 — M. C. de Perceval, Vol. III., p. 352.*)

It will also be remembered that when the Jorhomites were expelled (about 200 A. D.) the black stone is said to have been secreted by the Bani Iyâd, and produced by the Khozâa, so that, according to this, the worship of the Kaaba must then have been of ancient standing.

† The name of *Abd Shams*, “servant” or “votary of the Sun,” occurs in the Himyar dynasty about the eighth century B. C. ; and again in the fourth century. One of these is said to have restored *Am Shams* or Heliopolis, (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 52,*) but the tradition probably originated in the name. The stars worshipped by the various tribes, are specified by *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 349; and Pococke’s Specimen, p. 4.* Mahomet represents the people of Saba as worshipping the sun in the days of Solomon (*Sura XXVII, v. 25.*) *Iâd* and *Nâila*, whose statues were worshipped at Mecca, are said to have been the son and daughter of *Dhib* and *Sahuil*, i. e., the constellations of the *Wolf* and *Canopus*: and were thus probably connected with the adoration of these heavenly bodies. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 199.*) See also in *Sale’s Preliminary Discourse*, a notice of the constellations worshipped by the Arabs, (pp. 19 and 20.) In *Sura liii., 19*, is an evident allusion to the adoration of *Al Shîra*, or Sirius.

offered in Yemen to the sun, moon and stars.* The seven circuits of the Kaaba were, probably, emblematical of the revolutions of the planetary bodies ; and it is remarkable that a similar rite was practised at the other idol fane in Arabia.†

Mahomet is said to have held that *Ameer, son of Lohai* (the first Khozâite king, A. D. 200) was the earliest who dared to change the pure “ religion of Ishmael,” and set up idols brought from Syria. But this is a mere Moslem conceit ; for the practice of idolatry thickly overspread the whole Peninsula, from a much more remote period ; and we have authentic records of ancient shrines scattered from Yemen to Dûma, and Hira, most of them subordinate to the Kaaba, and some having rites resembling those of Mecca.‡ A system thus widely diffused, and thoroughly organized, cannot but have existed in Arabia long before the time of Amir Ibn Lohai, and may well be regarded as of indigenous growth.

The most singular feature in the Fetichism of Arabia, was the adoration paid to unshapen stones. The Mahometans hold, that the general practice arose out of the Kaaba worship. “ The adoration of stones among the Ishmaelites,” says Ibn Ishâc, “ originated in the practice of carrying a stone from the sacred enclosure of Mecca, when they went a journey, out of reverence to the Kaaba ; and whithersoever they went, they set it up, and made circuits round about it as was done to the Kaaba ; till at the last they worshipped every goodly stone they saw, and forgot their religion, and changed

* See above, page 14, of this article.

† *C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 270.—Hishami, p. 27, and Sprenger’s Mohammed, p. 6.* “ Shahrastany informs us that there was an opinion among the Arabs, that the walking round the Kaaba and other ceremonies, were symbolical of the motion of the planets, and of other astronomical facts.” In a note (1) authority is given for considering the Arabs to be worshippers of the sun, moon and stars ; the constellations adored by each tribe being specified.

‡ *Hishami, p. 27 and 28* ; where the various shrines and their localities and adherent tribes are specified : also *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., pp. 113, 198, 223 and 269* : and *Sprenger, p. 78.* For idolatry at *Hira* consult *M. C. de Perceval Vol. II., pp. 19, 100 and 132* ; at *Medina*, *Wâckidi* 268, and many subsequent passages : *Hishâmi, p. 153*, and *M. C. de Perceval, II. 649, and 688.* There was a temple of *Morât* at Medina at *Mushallal Cudeid*, towards the sea. But it is needless to specify farther. As to the ceremonies, even the inviolability of the holy territory did not want its counterpart. We read of a *Harâm* or sacred temple and enclosure instituted in the fifth century for the *Bani Ghatafan* in imitation of that at Mecca. We have no farther particulars to enable us to judge whether it was a simple imitation, or aspired to any independent origin. It was destroyed by Zahair the Yemen ruler of the B. Taghlîb about the middle of that century. (*C. de Perceval, II. p. 263.*) See also the account of the Kaaba of *Najrân* formed on the model of that of Mecca, *L. p. 160.*

* the faith of Abraham and Ishmael, and worshipped images."* This tendency to lapidolatry was undoubtedly prevalent throughout Arabia, but it is much more probable that it *occasional* the superstition of the Kaaba and its black stone, than that it took its rise in that superstition.

Thus the religion of Mecca, in its essential points, is connected with forms of superstition strictly native to Arabia, and the natural conclusion is that it grew out of them. The process may be thus imagined. Mecca owed its origin and importance to its convenient position, mid-way between Yemen and Petra. From very remote times, the merchandise of the east and south passed through Arabia, and the vale of Mecca lay upon the usual western route. The plentiful supply of good water attracted the caravans;† it became a halting place, and then an entrepôt of commerce; a mercantile population, with the conveniences of traffic, grew up in the vicinity, and eventually a change of carriage took place there; the merchandise being conveyed to the north and to the south on different sets of camels. The carrier's hire, the frontier customs, the dues of protection,‡ and the profits of direct traffic, added capital to the city, which probably rivalled, though in a more simple and primitive style, the opulence and the extent of Petra, Jerash, or Philadelphia.§ The earliest inhabitants were (like the Catūra,

* *Hishami*, p. 27; *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I. p. 197. Hishami notices a large stone worshipped by the Bani Malkan, at which they used to sacrifice animals. Compare also the notice of stones given above from Herodotus.

† From Burkhardt's account it appears that the level of the well of Zamzam continued the same even when there is the greatest draught upon its waters. This he ascertained by comparing the length of the rope required for the bucket in the morning, and again in the evening. The Turks regard this as a miracle, for the expenditure of water must be very great, as it is used not only by the multitudes of pilgrims, but by every family of Mecca, for drinking and ablution, though not for culinary purposes. He learned from one who had descended to repair the masonry, "that the water was flowing at the bottom, and that the water is therefore supplied by a subterraneous rivulet. The water is heavy in its taste, and sometimes in its colour resembles milk, but it is perfectly sweet, and differs very much from that of the brackish wells dispersed over the town. When first drawn up, it is slightly tepid, resembling in this respect many other fountains in the Hejáz." (*Travels in Arabia*, p. 144. See also the *Travels of Ali Bey*, Vol. II., p. 81.) The latter makes the surface water fifty-six feet below the mouth of the well : he agrees with Burkhardt as to the temperature, but states that the water is "rather brackish and heavy, but very limpid... It is wholesome, nevertheless, and so abundant, that at the period of the pilgrimage, though there were thousands of pitchers full drawn, its level was not sensibly diminished." The authorities of Sale (*Preliminary Discourse*, p. 4), who make the water unwholesome and unfit for use, are evidently incorrect.

‡ See Sprenger's *Mohammed*, p. 14.

§ The only remains in the way of buildings at Mecca, besides the Kaaba, consisted of the well Zamzam, which, when the city decayed, was neglected and choked up. It was discovered and cleared out by Mahomet's grandfather, who recognized the

Jorhom and Khozâa, though long anterior to them,) natives of Yemen, and the incessant traffic maintained a constant intercourse between them and their mother-country. From Yemen, no doubt, they brought with them, or subsequently received, Sabeanism, stone worship, and idolatry ; and these they connected with the well of Zamzam, the source of their prosperity, near which they erected their fane, with its symbolical Sabeanism and mysterious black stone. Local rites were superadded ; but it was Yemen, the cradle of the Arabs, which furnished the normal elements of the institution. The mercantile eminence of Mecca, to which the Bedouins of Central Arabia were lured with their camels by the profits of the carrying trade, by degrees imparted a national character to the local superstition, till at last it became the religion of Arabia. When the southern trade deserted this channel, though the mercantile prestige of Mecca vanished, and its opulence decayed, yet the Kaaba still continued the national temple of the Peninsula. The contingent population betook themselves to the desert ; and the native tribe (the ancestry of the Coreish) were over-ridden by such southern immigrants as the Jorhom and Khozâa dynasties ; till at last Cussai arose to vindicate the honour, and re-establish the influence of the house of Mecca.

But according to this theory, how shall we account for the traditions current among the Arabs, that the temple and its rites were indebted for their origin to Abraham and Ishmael ? This was no Moslem fiction, but the popular opinion of the Meccans before Islam. Otherwise, it could not have been referred to in the *Coran*, as an acknowledged fact ; nor would the names of certain spots around the Kaaba have been connected, as we know them to have been, with Abraham and with Ishmael.*

traces of it. Its foundations and masonry must have been of great solidity and excellent structure, and it is no doubt a remnant of the works which once adorned Mecca, in its primeval prosperity.

* Dr. Sprenger attributes the Abrahamic doctrine to the religious enquirers who preceded Mahomet, and adds that these traditions were "neither ancient nor general among the pagan Arabs :" but it appears to us undoubted that such traditions were universally received in the time of Mahomet, as the names then in use, *Mâdân Ibrahim*, *Mâdân Ismail*, &c., prove ; and as they could not have gained so general a currency suddenly, the legends must be regarded as of ancient date, even in Mahomet's time. Dr. Sprenger thus argues :—" We find no connexion between the tenets of Moses, and those of the Haramites ; and though biblical names are very frequent among the Mussulmans, we do not find one instance of their occurrence among the pagans of the Hejâz before Mohammed." (*Life*, p. 103.) But these reasons do not affect our theory : for (1), we hold that the religion of the Kaaba

The reply to the above question has been anticipated in a former paper.* It was there shown that the Yemenite Arabs early commingled very extensively with the Abrahamic tribes, and reason was seen for believing that, at a remote period, a branch descended from Abraham, and probably from Ishmael, settled at Mecca, and became allied with the Yemenite race. The Nabathean, or any other mercantile nation of this stock, attracted to Mecca by its gainful position, would bring along with it the Abrahamic legends, which intercourse with the Jews had tended to revive and perpetuate. The mingled race of Abraham and of Cahtân would require a modification of the Meccan religion, corresponding with their double descent; and this was naturally accomplished by grafting the Abrahamic legends upon the indigenous worship, and by rites of sacrifice or ceremony, perhaps now for the first time introduced, and associated with the memory of Abraham.

The Jews themselves were also largely settled in Northern Arabia, where they had considerable political influence. There were extensive colonies of them about Medina and Kheibar, in Wadi al Cora, and on the shores of the Atlantic gulph; and they maintained a constant and friendly intercourse with Mecca and the Arab tribes, who looked with respect and veneration upon their religion and their holy books.† When

was instituted by the *Pagans themselves*; the Abrahamic tradition being simply super-imposed; and (2), it was super-imposed not by Jews or Israelites, but by Abrahamic tribes of (probably) Ishmaelite descent, who had a very different nomenclature from that of the Jews, as is evident from Genesis. On the other hand, the affinity of Arabic with Hebrew, proves something common in origin, and (as has been before shown) renders probable the existence of Abrahamic tradition among the Arabs.

* See Article on the Aborigines of Arabia, No. xxxvii.

† The early history of Arabia gives ample proof of this. When Mahomet took Kleibar, he questioned its unfortunate Jewish chiefs as to "the utensils which they used to lend to the people of Mecca." (*Wâchidi*, p. 122.) Again the unbelieving Coreish consult the Jews as to whether their own religion is not better than Mahomet's, and are assured that it is. (*Hishâmi*, pp. 194 and 285—*Sura IV. v. 49*, and *Sale's note*.) Mahomet's early career shows much deference and veneration for the Jews; and he professed to follow their Scriptures and *true* doctrine, even to the end of his life.

In the list of Jorhom Kings we find the remarkable name of **ABD AL MASIH**, (76—106 A. D.), or "servant of the Messiah."

M. C. de Perceval concludes that the title is a Christian one; that its bearer lived therefore after the Christian era, and that Jesus Christ was then *one of the divinities of the Hejâz*. But neither fact appears deducible from the name. It is hardly credible that at so early a period any Arab Prince assumed that title as a Christian one; it is incomparably more probable that it was of Jewish or Abrahamic origin, and was assumed at the time when the expectation of a Messiah was ripe;—if indeed the name be not a mere traditional fiction. The legend, that the image of Jesus and the Virgin was sculptured on a pillar of the Kaaba,

once the loose conception of Abraham and Ishmael, super-imposed upon the Meccan superstition, had received the stamp of native currency, it will easily be conceived that even purely Jewish tradition would be eagerly welcomed and unscrupulously adopted.* By a summary and procrustean adjustment, the legends of Palestine became those of the Hejâz. The holy precincts of the Kaaba were the scene of Hagar's distress, and it was the sacred well Zamzam that brought her relief. It was Abraham and Ishmael who built the Meccan Temple, placed in it the black stone, and established for all mankind the pilgrimage to Arafat. In imitation of him it was that stones were flung; and sacrifices were offered at Minâ in remembrance of the vicarious sacrifice in the stead of his son Ishmael. And thus, although the indigenous rites may have been little, if at all, altered by the adoption of the Abrahamic legends, they came to be viewed in a totally different light, and to be connected, in the Arab imagination, with something of the purity of Abraham, the Friend of God. The gulph between the most gross idolatry and the purest theism was bridged over; and upon this common ground Mahomet, taking his stand, sounded forth his more spiritual system, in accents to which all Arabia could respond. The rites of the

and adored by the Arabs, is not an early or a well-supported one, and in itself is improbable. Christianity never found much favor at Mecca, and Mahomet was singularly ignorant in many important respects regarding it.

* It is to this source we trace the Arab doctrine of a Supreme Being, to whom their gods and idols were subordinate. The title of *Allah Tâdla*, THE MOST HIGH GOD, was commonly used before Mahomet, to designate this conception. But in some tribes, the idea had become so materialized, that a portion of their native offerings was assigned to the Great God, just as a portion was allotted to their idols. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 113.—Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 18.*) The notion of a Supreme Divinity, represented by no sensible symbol, is clearly not cognate with any of the indigenous forms of Arab superstition. It was borrowed directly from the Jews, or some other Abrahamic race, among whom contact with the Jews had preserved or revived the knowledge of the "God of Abraham."

Familiarity with the Abrahamic races also introduced the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection from the dead; but these were held with many fantastic ideas of Arab growth. Revenge pictured the murdered soul as a bird chirping for retribution upon the murderer; and a camel was allowed to starve at the grave of his master, that he might be ready at the resurrection again to carry him upon his back!

A vast variety of Scriptural language and terminology was also in common use, or at least its meaning understood. Faith, repentance, Divine wrath, the devil and his angels, the heavenly host, Gabriel, messenger of the Lord; - are but a specimen of ideas and expressions, which, acquired from a Jewish source, were either current, or ready for adoption. So were the stories of the fall of man, the flood, the destruction of the cities of the plain, &c., &c.;—so that there was an extensive substratum of crude ideas and unwrought knowledge bordering upon the dominion of the spiritual, ready to the hand of Mahomet.

Kaaba were retained by him, but emasculated of every idolatrous tendency; and they still hang, a strange unmeaning shroud, around the living theism of Islam.

We must now enumerate the chief tribes in other quarters of the Peninsula, with as much brevity as the occasional complication of the subject will permit.

The earliest historical notices of Central Arabia do not ascend beyond the middle of the fourth century of our era, that is to say, about six generations, or two hundred years, before the birth of Mahomet.

The BANI MADHJ̄, a Cahlânite tribe, which afterwards settled in Najrân, issued, about the era above specified; from amongst the teeming population of Yemen, and made an incursion upon the Tihâma. The Mâaddite tribes (of Meccan origin) rallied under AMIR, son of Tzarib, and repulsed the invaders. Amir, who was then elected the Ruler (Hakam) of the combined tribes, belonged to the branch of Adwâñ, which, as we have seen, possessed the office of heading the pilgrim procession, in the vale of Muzdalifa. This important tribe soon fell into decay and lost its importance.* From the period of this contest, we have no farther accounts of Central Arabia for another century, when we find a king of Yemen visiting Najd, and receiving the homage of its tribes. It has been noticed in the sketch of Yemen, that the Himyarite Kings held a sort of feudal supremacy over the central tribes. Ever and anon the Arabs rebelled, but having no general head to rally around, they as often relapsed into their state of vassalage.

In the middle of the fifth century, HOJR AKIL AL MORAR, chief of the *Kinda* (a powerful tribe of Cahlânite descent, which, issuing from Yemen, seated itself in Central Arabia,) was con-

* The uncircumcised males of the tribe at that period are given at the extravagant number of forty to sixty thousand, which would imply a population of from two to four hundred thousand. But, this is absurd, the more especially as Adwâñ, the progenitor of the tribe, was not born more than 200 years before. It illustrates, however, the important position, that tribes, when on the ascendant, rapidly increased, by associating, under the same banner and title with themselves, other straggling tribes, attracted by the prestige of their power, and the hopes of plunder. It is thus that we must account for the extensiveness of the hordes which, in the fifth century, represented the *Bani Bakr*; *Bani Taghib*; *Bani Hawâzin*; *Bani Ghatafan*; *Bani Sulaim*, &c., none of whose nominal progenitors was born much before 200 A. D.

Where respectable descent was wanting, a good tribe was often adopted; or endeavour was made to fabricate a claim to a good pedigree. See instances in Wâchidi, p. 227.—C. de Perceval. Vol. II., p. 491.

Burkhardt found the Bani Adwâñ still inhabiting the country between Jidda and Tâif: they used to muster 1,000 matchlocks, but were nearly exterminated by Mahomed Ali Pasha. "They were an ancient and noble tribe," he adds, "unparalleled in the Hejâz, and intimate with the Sharifs of Mecca." (*Travels in Arabia*, p. 240.)

stituted by his uterine brother Amr, King of Yemen, the ruler of all the tribes descended from Mâadd. The most distinguished of these were the descendants of BAKR* and TAGHLIB, sons of Wâil, who, with their various sub-divisions, were located in Yemâma, Bahrein, Najd, and the Tibâma. Hojr waged a successful war with Hîra, and conquered from it a part of Bahrein, claimed by the Bani Bakr. He enjoyed the title of King, and ruled from 460 to 480 A. D.

To him succeeded his son AMR AL MACSUR, (480—495 A. D.) but he failed in retaining the Mâaddite tribes under his allegiance, which was recognized for the most part only by his own race, the Bani Kinda. The claims of Yemen to a feudal tax were pressed with too great harshness, and twice, upon the plains of Sullân† (481 A. D.) and Khazâz, (492 A. D.) the Kindaite ruler, supported by the troops of Yemen, was repulsed by the Arabs.‡ Amr al Macsur was killed in a battle fought against Hâirth V.§ of the Ghassân dynasty.

The Bakr and Taglib tribes, rejoicing in the independence secured in these battles by their victorious arms, chose KOLEIB (492—494 A. D.) chief of the Bani Taglib, to be their ruler.|| But Koleib was haughty and overbearing, and he wantonly killed the milch camel of Basûs, a female relative of his wife, who was of Bani Bakr lineage. This, and other acts of indignity, roused the vengeance of the Bani Bakr, who slew Koleib. The two tribes were now marshalled one against the other; and the struggle, famous under the name of the *war of Basûs* (so called after the injured female), lasted long, with various success, and was not finally extinguished for forty years.

Meanwhile the Mâaddite tribes, weary of the prevailing anarchy, returned to their Himyarite allegiance, and placed themselves under the rule of the Kindaite Prince HARITH, (495—524 A. D.) son of Amr al Macsur.

This is the Hâirth, whose invasion of Syria and temporary conquest of Hîra, have been recounted before.¶ His strange career was closed by defeat and death, about 524 A. D. His

* This tribe must be distinguished from the Bani Bakr, descendants of a grandson of Kinâna, who assisted in the expulsion of the Jorhomites from Mecca.

† Sullân lay to the south of the Hedjâz, and the east of Najd, towards Yamâma.

‡ Some verses of Zohair, a poet of the Bani Kalb, and the Yemenite Governor of the Bani Bakr and Taglib, are preserved, with reference to these actions, in which he himself was engaged.

§ This prince, it will be remembered, was the son of Mâria Dzul Curtain, (Maria of the earrings,) sister of Amr al Macsur's mother.

¶ They awarded him one of the signs of sovereignty, viz., a fourth part of the booty. Mahomet secured a fifth.

¶ See page 25.

sons succeeded him, but by imprudence and disunion, they soon divested themselves of their hereditary influence. The Bani Taghlib, as partizans of one brother, vanquished the Bani Bakr, the supporters of another, in the celebrated action of *Kulâb the First*, (526 A. D.); and the Bani Bakr, after their defeat, sought for protection under the supremacy of the Kings of Hîra.

The dynasty of Himyar had now sunk under the invading force of the Abyssinians (525 A. D.): and the African rulers of Yemen, failing to command the respect or obedience which prescriptive right had accorded to the time-honored lineage of Cahtân, the tribes of Central Arabia one by one transferred their allegiance to the Court of Hîra. In the year 534 A. D., the Bani Taghlib followed the Bani Bakr in this course; and peace was enforced between the two tribes, by Mundzir III., Prince of Hîra, whose common authority they owned. The amnesty was proclaimed at Mecca; a treaty was recorded and signed; and eighty youths of either tribe were sent as hostages to Hîra, and renewed year by year. The Bani Bakr continued to live about Yamâma and the shores of the Persian Gulph, but the Bani Taghlib migrated to Mesopotamia. It was subsequent to this that Amr III. of Hîra was slain by a Taghlib warrior-poet, Amr ibn Colthum,* for a supposed insult offered to his mother. Thenceforward the Bani Taghlib were the enemies of Hîra, and to escape the vengeance of Amr's successor, they removed to Syria. But on the opening of Islam, we find them again in Mesopotamia, professing the Christian faith.† In 632 A. D., they attached themselves to the false prophetess Sejâ, and after a prolonged struggle, submitted to the Moslem yoke. The Bani Bakr, as we have seen, continued faithful to Hîra to the last, and in 511 A. D., they gloriously avenged the murder of Nomân V. by the Persian king, in the battle of Dzu Câr, and achieved independence for themselves. A portion of them (the Bani Hanîfa) had embraced Christianity, but the whole tribe seems voluntarily to have submitted to Islam, during the life-time of Mahomet.‡

* This Amr is famous for his *Moullaca*, or "suspended poem," which was recited at the fair of Ocâtz. His tribe doted on it; and it used to be repeated even by the children long after his death.

† They sent a deputation to Mahomet, the members of which wore golden crosses. They were allowed to maintain, unchanged, their profession of Christianity, but not to baptize their children, or bring them up as Christians;—a fatal concession!

‡ Some of the most famous of the Arab poets belong to the Bakr and Taghlib tribes, and their poems have rendered famous the war of Basûs, and the long train of hostilities which followed. Thus there are ascribed poems of the class *Moullacât* to *Tarafa*, *Hârith* ibn Hiliza, and *Maimûn* al Ashâ, all of the Bakr tribe, and to *Amr* ibn Colthum, of the Bani Taghlib.

We must now go back and take a glance at the fortunes of the house of Kinda. We left the sons of Hârith at variance among themselves. They were pursued with relentless hate by Mundzir III., of Hîra (526—530 A. D.), in whose breast the injuries inflicted by Hârith in his invasion still rankled. Crushed by such persecutions, the illustrious dynasty of Akil al Morâr was soon all but exterminated; and there survived only an insignificant branch, which continued to rule for half a century longer, over a part of Bahrein. The history of this period is enlivened by the romantic tale of IMRUL CAYS, the brother of Hârith, who united in his person the two princely Arab qualities of poetry and heroism. In the noble attempt of raising troops to revenge the death of his father, Amr al Macsur, he repaired as a suppliant to every friendly tribe in Arabia; and his chequered career,—now received with distinction, or heading a victorious band,—again routed, and hunted as a wild beast over the deserts by the enmity of Hîra,—ends at the last in his seeking for succour at the Court of Constantinople. He died on his way back (540 A.D.) and his touching poem, ranked among the *Moällacât*, contains many beautiful allusions to his melancholy history.*

The chieftainship of the Kindite tribe devolved on a junior branch of the family, which resided in Hadhramaut, and assisted towards the expulsion of the Abyssinians and restoration of the house of Himyar. On the first appearance of Islam, we find Cays ruling over the Bani Kinda there, and his son *Al Ashûth*, with the whole clan, joined Mahomet, A. D. 631.†

Another set of tribes, the descendants of Cays Aylan‡ of the Meccan stock, now demand our attention: they are divided in-

* An interesting coincidence may here be observed between Arab history and the Grecian writers. Procopius and Nonnosus mention an embassy to Abyssinia from Justinian, A. D. 531, the object of which was to endeavour, through the Yemenite Viceroy of the Abyssinian King, to reinstate a prince called Cays, in the command of the *Kindinians* and *Mâddennians*, and give him troops to fight against the Persians. Here we identify Imrul Cays, whom the Greeks sought to restore to his Arab chieftainship, and aid against the Persian vassal of Hîra. Other coincidences of names may be traced in *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II.*, p. 816.

The Arabs tell us that when Imrul Cays went to Constantinople, he left his daughter arms, &c., with Samuel the Jew, in his fort of Ablak, near to Tayma, in Northern Arabia. This noble Jew was attacked by the Ghassânide king, Hârith the Lame, who demanded the deposit, and threatened to slay the son of Samuel before him, if he refused. The Jew was immovable, and the "faith of Samuel" has hence become proverbial among the Arabs.

Arab writers say that the Emperor of Constantinople, jealous at the reports of the intimacy of Imrul Cays with his daughter, gave him a tunic which, like that of Hercules, consumed his body. He died in fact of ulcers. The legend shows to how late a date (540 A. D.) fiction mingles with Arabian history.

† See *Wâchîdi*, p. 64, and *Hishâmi*, p. 426; where their embassy is described.

‡ The patriarchs, Ghatafan and Hawâzin, were contemporaries of Fîrûz Coreish (born A.D. 200). Their ancestor Aylan was the grandson of Modhar, who was the grandson of Mâadd.

to two great branches, the GHATAFAN and the KHASAFA, connected, but at some distance, with the Coreish. The chief families of the Ghatafan were the *Bani Dzobiân* and the *Bani Abs*: those of the Khasafa were the *Bani Sulaim* (who lived near Mecca, and with whom Mahomet was put out to nurse) and the *Hawâzin*: the latter again were sub-divided into the *Thackîf*, who inhabited Tâif, and the *Bani Amir ibn Sâssâa*. Excepting the *Bani Thackîf*, these were all of Nomad habits; and their range of pasturage extended over the portions of Najd and its mountain chain adjoining on the Hejâz, from Kheibar and Wadi al Cora, to the parallel of Mecca.

Our earliest notices of these tribes commence in the middle of the sixth century, when, after the fall of the Kindaite dynasty, we find the "king" of the *Bani Abs* in command of the whole of the *Bani Ghatafan*, and also of the *Hawâzin*. He formed an alliance with Nomân IV., of Hîra, who took his daughter in marriage; but his eldest son, in returning from her convoy, was murdered, and the marriage presents plundered by a branch of the *Hawâzin*. Hostilities arose, the *Absite* Prince was assassinated (A.D. 567), and thenceforward the *Bani Hawâzin* secured their independence.

The *Bani Abs*, ready for revenge, were diverted by a fresh cause of offence in another quarter. Cays, their chief, in a marauding expedition, had plundered from the *Bani Tamîr* a horse of matchless speed, called Dâhis. Hodzeifa, chief of the *Dzobiân* (their sister tribe), vaunted his horse *Ghabra* as superior, and a wager and match were the result. The *Dzobiân* party, by an ignoble stratagem, checked the steed of Cays, and *Ghabra* first reached the goal. A fierce dispute arose as to the palm of victory, and the disposal of the stakes. Arab pride and revenge soon kindled into warfare, and such was the origin (568 A. D.) of the disastrous *war of Dahis*, which for forty years embroiled and wasted the tribes of *Ghatafan* and *Hawâzin*.* For some time hostilities raged with various success; at last a truce was concluded, and the *Bani Abs* delivered a number of their children as hostages into the hands of the *Bani Dzobiân*, but Hodzeifa treacherously slew the innocent pledges of his foe, and (A. D. 576) the war was rekindled afresh. In the battle of *Hubâa*, the *Bani Abs* were vic-

* This war is very famous in Arab history and poesy, which delights to expatiate on all the attendant circumstances. The detailed account given by M. C. de Perceval, is highly illustrative of the fiery pride of Arab chivalry. The history and parentage of the ill-starred Dâhis is traced with a curious minuteness, which would be found in few nations but Arabia. The expression *داحس من داحس* — *More ill-omened than Dahis*, became proverbial.

torious, and Hodzeifa,* with his brothers, expiated his treachery with their lives. But the bloody revenge of the Absites over-shot the mark. So extensive was their slaughter of the Dzobiân chiefs, that the other Ghatafan clans conspired to crush the murderous tribe. The Bani Abs, alarmed at the combination, forsook their usual haunts, and wandered forth to seek an asylum, which, after many repulses from various tribes, they found with the Bani Amir, a Hawâzin tribe.

But meanwhile the Bani Amir had become embroiled in hostilities with an independent tribe, the *Bani Tamîm* (of Meccan origin, who occupied the north-eastern desert of Najd, from the confines of Syria to Yemâma) ; and had vanquished them in the notable battle of Rahrahân (578 A. D.) The Tamîm now coalesced with the Dzobiân, and, instigated by a common enmity, sought to humble the Bani Amir, along with their refugees, the Bani Abs. Fearful of the issue of so unequal a combat, the two latter tribes retired to a strong mountain called Jabala, where, behind a steep and narrow gorge, they awaited the attack. The Bani Tamîm and Dzobiân came blindly forward, their opponents rushed forth, and though inferior in numbers, put them completely to rout. Such was the decisive battle of *Sheb Jabala*, fought in 579 A. D.†

The fortunate connexion of the Bani Abs with the Bani Amir continued for many years. At last the seeds of mutual dissatisfaction having been sown, the Absites separated themselves, and began to long for peace with their Dzobiânite brethren. After many difficulties, and the exercise by several distinguished men, of a most magnanimous devotion to the public good,‡ a con-

* The only brother who escaped was Hisn, father of Ueina, chief of the Fezâra (a Dzobiânite tribe), who becomes famous in the time of Mahomet.

† Amir ibn Tofail, Chief of the Bani Amir, in Mahomet's time, was born on the rocky crest of Jabala, whither the females had been for safety removed, just as the victory was secured. The Mahometan writers place this engagement at an earlier date, some in the year of Mahomet's birth, others as far back as 533 A. D. In refuting this erroneous calculation, M. C. de Perceval has the following remarks of general applicability. "En général, dans toute l'histoire antéislamique, les Arabes ont exagéré l'antiquité des faits, comme la durée de la vie des personnages" (Vol. II., p. 484.)

‡ Thus *Zohair* ibn Abu Solma, a contemporary poet of the Mozeina, celebrates the magnanimity of Hârith and Hârim, two Dzobiânite chiefs, who charged themselves with supplying 3,000 camels required in payment of the blood-shed in this long war. After the negotiations had been interrupted by a perfidious murder, Hârith brought 100 camels (the full fine or price of blood,) along with his own son, to the father of the murdered person, and said, *choose between the blood* (of my son) *and the milk* (of the camels.) The man chose the camels, and the negotiations went on. There were many other famous poets during the war of Dâhis; and none more so than the warrior *Antara*, whose feats have been transmitted to modern Arabs in the apocryphal but charming "Romance of Antar." His *Modlaca* is still extant. *Lâbid*, the satirist of the Bani Amir stock; and *Nâbigha* Dzobiânî (so styled from his tribe,) are also worthy of mention as distinguished poets.

clusive peace was effected, A. D. 609 ; and the war of Dâhis came to an end.

The Bani Abs and Dzobiân now united, together with the Bani Ashjâ, another Ghatafan tribe, against the Bani Amir and other Hawâzin clans ; and a long continued warfare, marked, as usual, by assassinations and petty engagements, but distinguished by no general action, prevailed between them, till the rise of Mahomet's power.

The following is the sequel of the Bani Tamîm's history. After the battle of Sheb Jabala, they fell out with their neighbours the Bani Bakr (Wâil,) who, in a year of famine, trespassed on their pastures ; and several battles, but without any important issue, were fought between them, in 604 A. D., and the following years. In 609, the Persian Governor of a neighbouring fortress, to punish the Bani Tamîm for the plunder of a Yemenite caravan, enticed into his castle and slew a great number of their tribe. Thus crippled and disgraced, they retired to Colayb, on the confines of Yemen, where they were attacked by the combined forces of the Bani Kinda, the Bani Hârith of Najrân, and some Kodhâaite tribes ; but they repulsed them in a glorious action, called *Colayb the second*, fought A. D. 612. Inspired by this success, they returned to their former country, and again entered into hostilities with the Bani Bakr. From 615 to 630 A. D., several battles occurred ; but in the latter year both parties sent embassies to Mahomet. The Bani Bakr, meanwhile, foreseeing that under the new faith their mutual enmities would be crushed, resolved to have a last passage of arms with their foes. The battle of Shaitain (end of 630 A. D.) was a bloody and fatal one to the Bani Tamîm, and they repaired to Mahomet, denouncing the Bani Bakr, and imploring his maledictions against them. But the Prophet declined, by such a proceeding, to alienate a hopeful adherent, and shortly after received the allegiance of the Bani Bakr, as well as of the Tamîm.

Two independent tribes, more or less Christian, deserve a separate notice. These were the Bani Tay, and Bani Hârith, both descended from Cahlân, and collateral therefore with the Bani Kinda.

The BANI TAY emigrated from Yemen into Najd, probably in the third century of our era ; and moving northwards, seated themselves by the mountains of Ajâ and Salma, and the town of Tayma. The influence of their Jewish neighbours in that quarter, led some of them to adopt Judaism ; others went over to Christianity : and the remainder adhered to their ancient paganism, and erected between their two hills a temple to the

divinity *Fuls*. We know little of this tribe till the beginning of the seventh century, when we find its two branches, *Ghauth* and *Jadila*, arrayed against each other, on account of the disputed restitution of a camel. After some engagements, (which are termed the war of *Fasád*, or discord,) the *Jadila* emigrated to the *Bani Kalb al Dúma*, and thence to *Kinnasrín* (Chalcis) in Syria. They sojourned long there; but at last, after the dissensions with their sister tribe had continued twenty-five years, peace was restored, and they returned to their former seat. In 632 A. D., the whole tribe embraced Islam. The two famous chieftains, *Hâtim Tay*, and *Zeid al Kheil*, belonged to the *Bani Ghauth*. The former is supposed to have died between 610 and 620 A. D., the latter embraced Islam, and his name was changed by Mahomet from *Zeid al Kheil* (*i.e.*, famous for his horses,) to *Zeid al Kheir* (*the Beneficent*).

The *BANI HARITH* were a clan descended from the Cahlanite stock of the *Bani Madhij*. They must have emigrated from Yemen at a very early date, as they were seated in *Najran* (between Yemen and Najd,) when the Azdites, about 120 A. D., moved northwards; and they skirmished with them. We find that the *Bani Harith* were settled in the persuasion of Christianity in the time of Mahomet. Baronius refers their conversion, but with little probability, to the Mission of Constantius to the Himyar court, already noticed as having occurred A. D. 343. The Arabs attribute it to the unwearied labours, and miraculous powers of a Missionary called *Feimiyún*, and his convert, the martyr *Abdallah*;* and M. C. de Perceval, as well as Assemani, concludes that Christianity was generally adopted in *Najrân* about the close of the fifth century. Under the reign of *Dzu Nowás*, we have recounted how that cruel prince, in his endeavours to impose Judaism upon its people, perpetrated an inhuman and treacherous massacre of the Christians. Nevertheless, the *Bani Hârith* stedfastly held to their faith, and were prosperously and peaceably advancing under Episcopal supervision, when Mahomet summoned them to Islam.

* See the story told at length in *Hishami*, where some of the miracles are mentioned, such as the overthrow of a large tree worshipped by the people, (pp. 10—18.) The Martyr, *Abdallah ibn Thâmir*, is known to the Church under the name of *Arethas*, son of *Caleb*; probably his Arab name (*Hârith ibn Kâb*) before baptism. The king of *Najrân* resorted to every expedient to kill this convert, cast him from precipices, and plunged him into deep waters, but his life was proof against every attempt, till at last, by Abdallah's own direction, the king confessed the unity of the Deity: and then a blow inflicted on the martyr's head, immediately proved fatal! Others again say that Abdallah escaped, and that he was one of the martyrs of *Dzu Nowás*. (Cnf. *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 129, and *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, end of chap. XLII., note f.)

One of their Bishops, *Abul Hâritha*, was in the deputation which (A. D. 630) was sent by this tribe to the Prophet. *Coss*, the famous orator, whom the youthful Mahomet heard at the fair of Ocâtz, was likewise a Bishop of Nâjrân.*

It remains to conclude this sketch of the Arab tribes, by a notice of YATHIREB or MEDINA.

According to the Arab legend, the whole of this part of Arabia belonged, originally, to the *Amalekites*, (in whom we recognize the Abrahamic races of other than Israelitish descent;) but it was invaded by the Jews, and Yathreb (so called after an Amalekite chief,) passed, like Kheibar and other neighbouring places, into their hands. Wild legends, adapted from the Jewish Scriptures, profess to explain the cause of the Jewish invasion; the times of Moses, of Joshua, of Samuel, and of David, are with equal assurance and equal probability stated by different traditionists. We need not to go so far back. The inroads of Nebuchadnezzar, and his sack of Jerusalem; the attack of Pompey, sixty-four years before the Christian era, and of Titus, seventy years after it; and the bloody retribution inflicted upon the Jews by Hadrian, 136 A.D., are some of the later causes which, we know, dispersed the Jews, and drove a portion into Arabia.† Such fugitive Jews were the Bani Nadîr, the Coraitza, their neighbours the Caynocâa, &c., who, finding Yathreb to be peopled by a weak race of Codhâite and other Bedouin tribes, incapable of offering much resistance, settled there, and built for themselves large and fortified houses.‡

About the year 300 A.D., the clans of the Aws and Khazraj alighted at the same settlement, and were admitted by alliance, to share in the territory. At first weak and inferior to the Jews, these tribes began, at length, to grow in numbers;§ and as they encroached upon the rich fields and date plantations of the Jews, disputes and enmity sprang up between them. The new-comers, headed by MALIK, son of Ajlân,|| chief of

* *Sprenger*, p. 38—*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 159.

† See also the Jewish settlement in Mount Seir, which ejected the Amalekites.
1. *Chron.* iv. 42, 43.

‡ These houses were capable of resisting the attack of troops; they were called *otâm*.

§ Of the numerous tribes into which they were soon divided, the names of Aws *Mond*, and Taym *Allâb*, are significant of the keeping up of the same idolatrous worship as that of the Maaddite tribes. Mahomet changed their names into Aws *Allâh* and Taym *Allâh*.

|| See *Wâckidi*, p. 287.

the Khazraj, sought and obtained succour from their Syrian brethren (the Bani Ghassān); and craftily enticed the principal Jewish chiefs into an enclosed tent, where they were massacred. The simple Jews were again beguiled into security by a treacherous peace, and while attending a feast given by their wily foes, a second butchery took place, in which they lost the whole of their chief men. Thus, about the close of the fifth century, the Aws and Khazraj became masters of Yathreb, and ejected the Jews from such of their holdings as they chose.

It was shortly after these events that Yathreb was unexpectedly attacked by a Prince called Abu Karib; but whether to punish the Aws and Khazraj for their attack upon the Jews, or for what other cause, is not very apparent.* The invader sent for the four chief personages† of the Awsites; and they, expecting to be invested with the command of Yathreb, repaired to his camp at Ohod,‡ where they were massacred, with the exception of one who escaped to his defenced house, and there defied the attacks of the treacherous Prince. This was OHAIHA, who became chief of the Bani-Aws, as Mālik was of the Khazraj. Abu Karib prosecuted his attack, destroyed some of the date plantations, and brought his archery to bear upon the fortified houses, in which the stumps of the arrows then shot, were still visible in the early days of Islam.§ At last, falling sick, or despairing of success, he made peace with

* The poetical remains give the invader only the title of *Abu Karib*. The historians or traditionists will have it, that it was *Abu Karib Tibban Asad*, King of Yemen, who flourished in the beginning of the third century, or nearly 200 years before the era of this expedition. We have seen, under the sketch of Yemen, that this incursion must have occurred about the reign of Dzu Nowās; and as he was so bigoted a Jew, its object was perhaps to punish the Aws and Khazraj, for their cruel and treacherous attacks upon the Jews. This, however, is only a conjecture; as the native authorities do not hint at it; excepting by one tradition, which makes Dzu Nowās to have embraced Judaism in consequence of a visit to Yathreb;—another assertion is that the *Ghityun*, or head of the Jews, was the cousin and representative of the king whose authority the Hejāz recognized, but the precise meaning of this is not clear. Procopius mentions an *Ἄρχαρης*, who was at this time master of the northern Hejāz, and offered the sovereignty of it to Justinian. (See p. 36.) The name and date afford some presumption of identity.

† Among these were “the three Zeids,” chiefs of the Awsites, and all bearing that appellation.

‡ He pitched below the hill of Ohod, where he dug a well; but its water did not agree with him. It was long after known as “the Tabba’s well.” (*Vide Journal Asiatique*, Nov., 1838, p. 439.)

§ There is a paper worthy of perusal on Ohaiha, by M. Perron, in the *Journal Asiatique*, November 1838, p. 443. One of the houses at Medina was so bristled with the arrows then shot into it, that it received and retained the name of *Al Ashd̄*, “the hairy.” It belonged to the Bani Adi, and was situated near the spot where Mahomet afterwards built his mosque.

the Aws and Khazraj, and departed. As he left, he made over the provisions and baggage of his camp to a woman, who had supplied him with sweet water from Yathreb : she thus became the richest female in her tribe, and (which seems almost incredible,) continued such until the rise of Islam.*

The Aws and Khazraj, thus established in power, did not long remain on terms of amity with each other. The fifth century had not yet expired, when disputes arose on the relative dignity of Ohaiha and Mâlik, and on the amount of blood-fine to be paid for the murder of an adherent of the latter. Battles were fought, and for twenty or thirty years a constant enmity prevailed.† At last (520—525 A.D.,) the father (according to some the grand-father) of Hassân the poet, being elected umpire, decided in favor of the Awsites, though himself a Khazrajite; and to prevent farther dispute, paid the disputed portion of the fine.‡

The peace thus secured, continued for a long series of years. But in 583 A. D., hostilities again broke out. The ostensible cause was the murder of a Khazrajite, or of a Jew under Khazrajite protection. At first the hostilities were unimportant, and confined to clubs and lamoons.§ By and bye they became more serious; the Bani Khazraj defeated their opponents, and slew one of their chiefs,

* See *Journal Asiatique*, loc. cit., p. 447—*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. II., p. 656. The latter suggests with probability that, instead of the rise of Islam, the *birth* of the Prophet of Islam is meant. It is strange how the expedition is throughout confounded with that of Tibbân Asad, and yet all the names of the Medina actors, as well as the incidents, the memory and marks of which were still fresh, when Mahomet went to Medina, manifestly require a date at least two centuries later than that Prince. The reason assigned for the departure of the invader, is the same as in that of the ancient invasion; i.e., that two Rabbins informed him that Medina would be the refuge of a great Prophet, &c. It is curious that neither the annals of Medina nor of Mecca throw any satisfactory light on this later invasion; though Abu Carib, if a King of Yemen, must have passed by Mecca to get to Medina. As the event occurred within three quarters of a century before the birth of Mahomet, the confusion and uncertainty cannot but affect our confidence in the ancient history of the Hejâz altogether.

† It was during this period, that Ohaiha, who had gained much riches and power by merchandise, planned an attack upon the Bani Najîr, a Khazraj family, to which his wife Solma belonged. Solma gave secret intimation to her parents, and Ohaiha found them prepared for his attack. He afterwards divorced her, and then she married Hishim, and became the great grandmother of Mahomet. (*Wâchidi*, p. 14.)

‡ One of the conditions of this peace was *security of domicile*, which even in war was never to be violated. Every murder within a private enclosure was to bear the usual blood-fine. Mahomet did not much respect this right.

§ Amr, a Khazrajite, repaired at this period to Hira, and obtained from that Court (the supremacy of which was now acknowledged in the Hejâz,) the title of Prince, in order to put a stop to this discord; but the attempt was unsuccessful. The mode in which the satirists abused each other was peculiar. Thus Hassân addressed amorous poetry to the sister of Cays, extolling her beauty; and Cays similarly sang in praise of the daughter of Hassân's wife. A similar practice was one of the charges brought against Kâb, the Jew, who was assassinated by Mahomet's orders.

*Suweid ibn Sâmit,** and expelled an Awsite tribe from the city. Bloody encounters occurred, and either party looked for succour to the Jews, but they remained neuter; and the Khazrajites, to secure their neutrality, took forty of their children as hostages. But animated by a rare barbarity, the most of the Khazraj chiefs murdered their hostages,† and thus decided the Jews of the Coreitza and Nadhir tribes, to side at once with the Awsites, and to receive with open arms their expelled tribe. Both sides now prepared vigorously for a decisive battle. The Bani Aws sought for aid from the Coreish at Mecca, but they declined to war against the Khazrajites;‡ they gained, however, reinforcements from two Ghassânite tribes, from the Mozeina,§ and from their Jewish allies, the Coreitza and Nadhir. The Bani Khazraj were supported by the Joheina|| (a Codhâite tribe) and the Bani Ashjâ (a branch of the Ghatafan), and by the Jewish stock of Caynocâa. Thus, in the year 615 A.D.,¶ was fought the memorable action of Bôâth.** At first the Awsites were struck with terror, and fled towards the valley of Oraidih††. But their chief *Hodheir al Ketaib*, in indignant despair, pierced himself and fell:‡‡ and at this sight the Bani Aws, impelled by shame, returned to the charge with such determination, that they dispersed the Khazraj and their allies with great slaughter; and refrained from the carnage only on their cry for mercy. But they burned down some of their date plantations, and were with difficulty restrained from razing to the ground their fortified houses.

* This man had a conversation with Mahomet at Mecca, when he was canvassing there publicly for his faith, and is said to have died a Moslem. (*Hishâmi*, p. 141.—*Tabari*, p. 158.—*Wachidi*, p. 287.) He was killed by a Codhâite, and his son (who with the murderer, both became Mussulmans,) took the opportunity of revenging his father's death, by a blow, while both he and his victim were together, side by side, at Ohod. It was proved, and Mahomet put him to death as the slayer of a believer, at the gate of the mosque at Coba.

† Abdallah ibn Obey, afterwards Mahomet's great opponent at Medina, rejected with horror the proposal to murder his hostages, and persuaded several other chiefs to do likewise. He was dissatisfied with the conduct of his tribe, and took no part in their subsequent proceedings, nor in the battle of Bôâth.

‡ Mahomet took occasion to address this embassy, and presented to them the claims of his religion, but with little success.

§ See this tribe noticed in Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia, p. 458, as being N.E. of Medina. They were a Bani Modhar tribe, somewhat distant from the Coreish.

|| This tribe is also noticed by Burkhardt as inhabiting the vicinity of Yenbo, and being able to furnish good matchlock men. (*Notes on the Bedouins*, p. 229.)

¶ See *Wâchidi*, p. 296, where the era is given as six years prior to the Hegira.

** Bôâth was situated in the possession of the Bani Coreitza.

†† This spot is mentioned by Burkhardt as one hour's walk N. E. of Medina, in the direction of Ohod. (*Travels*, p. 458.)

‡‡ *Wachidi*, p. 296. *Al Ketaib* was an honorary title of supremacy.

The Khazraj were humbled and enfeebled, but not reconciled. No open engagement after this occurred : but numerous assassinations from time to time gave token of the existing ill-blood. Wearyed with the dissensions, both parties were about to choose Abdullah ibn Obey as their chief or king, when the advent of Mahomet produced an unexpected change in the social relations of Medina.

A survey, thus extensive and detailed, of the Peninsula and its border states, was requisite for forming a judgment of the relations in which Arabia stood towards her coming prophet.

The first peculiarity, which upon review attracts attention, is the sub-division of the Arabs into innumerable independent bodies, all governed by the same code of honor and morals, exhibiting the same manners, and speaking, for the most part, the same language, but possessed of no cohesive principle; restless, and generally at war, each with some other tribe ; and even where united by blood or by interest, ever ready, at the most insignificant cause, to separate, as by an atomic repulsiveness, and abandon themselves to an implacable hostility. These qualities made Arabia to exhibit, like a kaleidescope, an ever varying scene of combination and repulsion, and had hitherto rendered abortive every attempt at a general union. The Kinda Government, though backed by a powerful dynasty, fell to pieces after a brief duration, and neither the Himyar Sovereigns, nor after them, the Court of Hira, could effect more than the casual recognition of a general species of feudal supremacy. The freedom of Arabia from foreign conquest, was owing, not only to the difficulties of its parched and pathless wilds, but to the interminable number of independent clans, and the absence of any head or chief power, which might be made the object of subjugation. The problem had yet to be determined, by what force these tribes could be drawn to one common centre ; and it was solved by Mahomet, who invented a religio-political system, from elements common to all Arabia, and set it in motion by the inducement,—irresistible by an Arab—of endless war and plunder.

The prospects of Ante-Mahometan Arabia were equally unfavourable to the hope of religious movement or national regeneration. The substratum of Arab faith was a deep-rooted idolatry, which for many centuries had stood proof, with no sensible effect, against the most zealous attempts at evangelization from Egypt and from Syria. Several causes increased the insensibility with which the Arabs listened to the Gospel.

A dense fringe of hostile Judaism neutralized upon the northern frontier the efforts of Christian propagandism, and afforded shelter to Central Arabia. The connexions of the Jews extended far southwards, and were met at the opposite extremity of the peninsula by the Judaism of Yemen, which was long protected by the Government of the land, and even at times sought itself to proselytize the tribes of Arabia.

But worse than this, the idolatry of Mecca had formed a compromise with Judaism, and had admitted enough of its semi-Scriptural legends, and, perhaps, of its tenets also, to steel the national mind against any Christian appeal. Simple idolatry is comparatively powerless against the attacks of reason and the Gospel, but when welded together with some principles of truth, it becomes far more impervious to human agency. The authority of Abraham for the worship of the Kaaba, and the precious legacy of his divinely inculcated rites, would be a triumphant reply to the invitations either of Judaism or of Christianity. But the Christianity of the seventh century was itself decrepit and corrupt. It was disabled by contending schisms, and had substituted the puerilities of debasing superstition, for the pure and expansive evangelism of the early ages. What could then be hoped from such an agent?

The state of Northern Arabia, which had been long the battle-field of Persia and the Empire, was peculiarly unfavourable to Christian effort. Alternately swept by the armies of Chosroes, and of Constantinople, of Hîra, and of the Ghassânides, the Syrian frontier presented little opportunity for the advance of peaceful Christianity.

The vagrant habits of the Nomads themselves eluded the stedfast importunity of Missionary endeavour; while their haughty spirit and revengeful code, equally refused to brook the humble and forgiving precepts of Christian morality. Not that a nominal adhesion to Christianity, as to any other religion, might not be obtained without participation in its spirit, or subjection to its inner requirements: but such a formal submission could have resulted alone from the political supremacy of a Christian power, not from the spiritual suasion of a religious agency. Let us look then to the external political inducements which bore upon Arabia.

To the *north*, we find that Egypt and Syria, representing the Roman Empire, exercised but a remote and foreign influence upon Arabian affairs, and even that was continually neutralized by the victories and antagonism of Persia. The weight of Constantinople, if ever brought to bear directly upon the affairs of Arabia, was but lightly felt, and passed transiently

off.* The kingdom of Ghassân, upon the borders of Syria, was indeed at once Arab and Christian, but it yielded to Hîra the palm of supremacy, and never exercised any important bearing on the affairs of Central Arabia.

If we turn to the *North-east*, we observe, it is true, that the Christian aspect had improved by the conversion of the Hîra Court, and many of its subordinate tribes; and the influence of Hîra permeated Arabia. But Hîra itself was the vassal of Persia; and its native dynasty having lately fallen, had been replaced by a Satrap from the Court of Persia, which was a strong opponent of Christianity. The relations of Pagan Persia with the Arabs were uninterrupted, intimate, and effective, and entirely counter-balanced those of the Christian West.

To the *South*, Christianity had met with an important loss. The prestige of a Monarchy—though an Abyssinian one—was gone; and in its room had arisen a Persian Satrapy, under the shadow of which the old Himyar idolatry, and once royal Judaism, flourished apace.† On the *East* there was indeed the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, but it was divided from Arabia by the Red Sea, and the negro race would not, even in

* The most prominent instance of Roman interference is the alleged appointment of Othman abu al Herweirith, as king of Mecca: but the account appears to be very apocryphal. At any rate, the authority of Othman was but short-lived. (See *Sprenger*, p. 44.) There are very few other allusions to Roman influence in Arab concerns. The Emperor made a treaty with the marauder Hârith, the Kindaite chief: but it was because of his invasion of Syria. (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. II., p. 290.) Hashim, Mahomet's great grandfather, concluded a mercantile treaty with the Emperor, (*Wâchidi*, p. 13:) and there were no doubt international arrangements on the border for the security of the commerce and regulation of the custom dues. But these influences hardly crossed the boundary; and neither did those connected with the Roman legions at Duma, or the *Equites Saraceni Thamudeni*, referred to above. Occasionally a refugee, such as Inrûl Cays, or Mundzir, repaired to the Court of Constantinople; but that court was never able to turn such events to any profitable account in its connexions with Arabia.

† Gibbon thus marks the importance of the fall of the Christian Government of the Abyssinians in Yemen:—

"This narrative, of obscure and remote events, is not foreign to the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. If a Christian power[‡] had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet must have been crushed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution, which has changed the civil and religious state of the world." (*Decline and Fall; close of Chapter XLII.*)

The conclusion drawn by Gibbon is a very doubtful one. It is questionable whether Mahomet would not himself have looked to the continuance of a Christian power in Yemen, as a contingency the most favorable to his great scheme. There is no point more remarkable in Mahomet's character than the adroitness with which he at first represented himself as the adherent and supporter of opposing systems, and won over their partizans. It was thus he treated the Christians of Arabia, who at first believed he would secure to them the enjoyment of their Christianity intact; it was thus he treated, and was welcomed by, the Christian king of Abyssinia; and he would no doubt have played the same with any Christian Government in Yemen. It was not from Christianity, but from idolatry and Judaism, that opposition to Mahomet's system emanated.

a more favorable position, have exercised much influence upon the Arab mind.*

Thus the Star of Christianity was not in the ascendant: nay, in some respects, its was waning. There was no hope of a change from the high hand of political supremacy; while the prevalence of an influential Judaism, and of a rampant national idolatry, rendered the conversion of Arabia, indeed, a doubtful and a distant prospect. During the youth of Mahomet, the aspect of the Peninsula was strongly conservative, and, perhaps, was never at any period more hopeless.

It is a ready failing of the human mind, after the occurrence of an event, to conclude that the event could not otherwise have occurred. Mahomet arose, and aroused the Arabs to a new and a spiritual faith; the conclusion is immediately drawn, that all Arabia had been fermenting for the change; that all Arabia was quite prepared to adopt it; and that the Arabs were on the very point of striking out for themselves the ready path to truth, when Mahomet anticipated them; but only by a few years at most.† To us, calmly reviewing the past, every token of pre-islamite history belies the position. After five centuries of Christian evangelism, we can point to but a sprinkling of Christian converts; the Bani Hârith of Najrân; the Bani Hanîfa of Yemâma: some of the Bani Tay at Tayma; and hardly any more.‡ Judaism, vastly more powerful, had exhibited a spasmodic effort of proselytism under Dzu Nowâs; but as an active and vivifying principle, it, too, was now dead. In fine, the surface of the Peninsula was here and there gently rippled by the feeble influences of Christianity; occasionally, the effects of sterner Judaism would be visible in a deeper and more troubled current: but the flood of idolatry and of Ishmaelite superstition, setting with the surge of an unbroken and unabating tide towards the Kaaba, gave ample evidence that they held in undisputed thralldom the mind of Arabia.

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* The connexions of the Arabs with Abyssinia were chiefly mercantile. Tabari says of it:—"Now there was there a just king, called *Al Nâjashy* (Negus); and it was a land with which the Coreish used to do merchandise. They were wont to go thither for commerce, and to find therein plenty of food and protection, and good traffick" (p. 127.)

† Dr. Sprenger goes even farther than this, and supposes that Mahomet was preceded by many of his followers in the discovery and choice of Islam: see references in the notes at pp. 52 and 53 of Article I. in No. XXXVII. of this Review, on the sources for the Biography of Mahomet.

‡ The Bani Taghilib, and Ghassân, and the Christian tribes near Hira, were removed from direct influence on Central Arabia, and are not therefore here taken into account.

Still, even in this posture of affairs, there existed the elements with which a master mind might work those marvellous changes, which his wizard wand, alone of all human agencies, can produce. Christianity was known ; there were living examples of it in domesticated tribes ; its books and many of its doctrines were patent, or at least accessible, to all. The tenets of Judaism were even more notorious, and its legends, if not its sacred writings, were familiar throughout the Peninsula. The worship of Mecca was founded upon assumptions believed to be common both to Christianity and Judaism. Here then was ground of truth ready to the enquirer's hand, and inviting scrutiny and cultivation. And no doubt, many an Arab heart, before Mahomet, responded to the casually received truths of Christianity and Judaism :—many an honest Bedouin spirit confessed of the law that it was just and good : many an aspiring intellect, as the eye travelled over the bespangled expanse of the heavens, concluded that the Universe was supported by ONE great being ; and in the time of need, many an earnest soul felt the suitability of the Christian sacrifice. Coss, the Bishop of Najrān, was not the first, nor, perhaps, the most eloquent and earnest, of Arab preachers, who sought to turn his fellows from the error of their ways, and reasoned with them of righteousness, truth, and the judgment to come.

The MATERIAL for a great change was here ; but it required to be wrought : and Mahomet was the WORKMAN. The fabric of Islam no more necessarily resulted from the state of Arabia, than a gorgeous texture necessarily results from the mesh of tiny silken thread ; nor the stately ship from the unhewn timber of the forest : nor the splendid palace from unshapen masses of quarried rock. Had Mahomet, stern to his first convictions, followed out the Jewish and Christian systems, and inculcated upon his fellows their simple truths, we should have had a “ SAINT MAHOMET,”—perhaps a “ MAHOMET THE MARTYR,”—laying the foundation stone of the Arabian Church : but we should not certainly, in his day, have seen Arabia convulsed to its centre, or even any considerable portion of it Christianized. He abandoned his early convictions ; for the uncompromising severity of inflexible principle he substituted the golden prospects of expediency and compromise ; and then with consummate skill, he devised a machinery, by the plastic power of which, he gradually shaped his material into an harmonious and perfect form. To the Christian, he was as a Christian ;—to the Jew he became as a Jew :—to the

Meccan idolator, as a reformed worshipper of the Kaaba. And thus, by unparalleled art, and a rare supremacy of mind, he persuaded the whole of Arabia, idolator, Jew, and Christian, to follow his steps with docile submission.*

Such a process we style that of *the workman shaping his material*. It was not that of the material shaping its own form, much less moulding the workman himself. It was Mahomet that formed Islam: it was not Islam, or any pre-existing Moslem spirit, that moulded Mahomet.

* But this effect was not attained until both spiritual and temporal powers had been brought into play against a ceaseless opposition of twenty years; and no sooner had the personal influence of the Prophet been removed by death, than almost the whole of Arabia rose up in rebellion against Islam. The remark is anticipatory, but should not be lost sight of in our estimate of Aute-Mahometan Arabia.

ART. II.—1. *Scenes de Voyage dans l'Inde.* Par Th. Pavie.
(Revue de deux Mondes. 1 Avril, 1853.)

2. *L'Inde sous la domination Anglaise.* Par le Baron Barchou de Penhoën, auteur de *l'histoire de la conquête de l'Inde par l'Angleterre.* 2 Tom. Paris, 1844.

INDIA was discovered by M. Victor Jacquemont, about the thirtieth year of the present century. It was inhabited by two distinct classes of people, different in many respects from each other, but neither of them far removed from a state of barbarism. The one class wore no clothes worth mentioning, and the other class wore such as cannot be mentioned without a sigh of compassion for their unfortunate wearers, inasmuch as their *cut* had been handed down, unimproved, from a remote antiquity, indicating that the latest communication with the civilized world, that is Paris—(and that communication must have been indirect and circuitous)—had not taken place within two years of M. V. Jacquemont's visit. The country was ruled over by a queen called *Lady William*, who was accustomed to travel in a “Tom Jones,”* and who gave evidence how well she deserved the throne, by the nearer approximation that she made than any of her subjects of either race, to a truthfully high estimate of the merits of M. V. Jacquemont.

After the publication of M. V. Jacquemont's discovery, indeed, some resurrectionist of deceased volumes found out that the country had been visited at an earlier period, by one M. Bernier, who found one Aurungzebe occupying the throne that his successor found occupied by Lady William. There was also a legend that a M. Thevenot and a M. Tavernier had been in India, but these legends were, probably, mythical. It was also said, that a M. Dupleix had once ruled over India, otherwise called Pont de Cherri; but as the histories of his reign contained accounts, evidently fabulous, of his being defeated by the British, the whole of his history was probably apocryphal; having perhaps been composed by the British, in order that they might set the glory that they profess to have gained by his defeat, against the disgrace of their own defeat at Trafalgar and Waterloo. But this impertinent discovery was not allowed to detract anything from the merits of M. V. Jacquemont;

* Much has been written on the subject of Romanizing, and we once had an article on the Hellenizing, of Oriental words. The Gallicizing of them is quite as worthy of being treated. The example in the text is amusing, from the coincidence of the name given to her ladyship's conveyance, with that of the hero of a celebrated work. But the words, pronounced after the French fashion, come very near to the name *tonjon*.

and he retains, and ever will retain, the credit of having been the first to make his countrymen acquainted with the fact of the existence of India.

It is altogether astonishing to what an extent the descriptions of this amiably vain traveller (vanity excites pity, and “pity melts the soul to love”) have given a bias to the judgments of the French, in all matters relating to India. They see it with his eyes; they describe it in his style. Those of them, who have never visited India, take up his descriptions without question, and the few who do venture to pay a visit to the *Britannos hospitibus feros*, in this land of their exile, come amongst us with his impressions established as the ideal standard of their own, and with the conclusion formed, that the more nearly they can approach his sentiments and his modes of expressing them, the greater will be the merit of their books.

It may seem unfair to make these remarks *apropos* merely to an article in a magazine; but in point of fact, we state the impression made upon us by a tolerably extensive course of reading. And were it not so, the *Revue de deux Mondes* has so high a name in the world of periodical literature, and has so evidently the best writers in France at its command, that we are rather in danger of doing injustice to it than to the general body of French writers, by regarding its articles as fair specimens, in matter and manner, of the literature of France at the present day.

Who M. Pavie is we do not know, nor do we at this moment recollect whether we have met with his name before; but the admission of his article into the *Revue* is a certificate of respectability. He, doubtless, knows as much respecting India as respectable literary men in France generally know respecting it. His opinions are, probably, those of a considerable body of men of the same class—for when personal or party-interests are not at stake, men of the same class do not generally differ widely in opinion—and they will be read without question by many thousands of readers, and insensibly incorporated into the *credenda* of the French people.

It may be worth while then to examine this article of M. Pavie, and “see ourselves as others see us.” The article is nominally a review of a German work, entitled *Patma Khandā—Leben und Charakterbilder aus Indien und Persien, von Erich von Schönberg, 2 vol. Leipzig, 1852*; but except telling us that *Patma Khandā* means a place where the lotus abounds, and quoting a story about Runjit Singh, the reviewer makes no reference to the work under review. It is not for us to con-

demn his conduct in this respect, as there are some panes of glass in our own roof which might haply suffer from the recoil of any missiles that we might throw. The fact is, that our fraternity do some dishonor to their vocation, by adhering to the practice of invariably attaching the titles of one or more books to their articles. *Reviews* were originally intended merely to give an account of *books*; but now their sphere is greatly enlarged, and it is expected of them that they should review not only books, but events and men. Formerly the reviewer had only the literary world employed in providing subjects for the exercise of his functions, but now he has the whole world employed in nothing else than furnishing matter for his articles. The practice, however, has been retained, of prefixing the titles of books to *Review* articles, and as it is quite harmless, and as it has been handed down as an heir-loom from the days of the patriarchs of our race, we confess that we have no desire to see it relinquished, and a mere *running title* placed at the head of an article, instead of the title of a book. But we have a long road to travel, and must not indulge our propensity to digress.

After stating, in very general terms, the design and method of the *Patma Khanda*, the reviewer proceeds to treat of various subjects "in the miscellaneous order (le pâle-mêle) in which they ordinarily present themselves to the European traveller." According to this order, of course the first subject is the landing. This event may be viewed in various aspects. Some may delight in contemplating the unmodified and unmitigated "griffinism" of the new-comer; but we confess we never could apprehend aught like the full intensity of the fun that most old Indians seem to perceive in the fact that a man should be unable to speak a language that he has never learned, and that he had never before seen animals and plants which are peculiar to the country that he is now visiting for the first time, and that he should not be perfectly conversant with customs which have been originated in a state of society of which he has hitherto had no experience. Yet this is all that goes to make up griffinism, that most ridiculous of all things to an old Indian. If indeed a young man affects to know what he does not know, or condemns customs of which he knows neither the origin nor the use, he is a fair subject for ridicule; but simple griffinism—griffinism without dogmatism—has never, so far as we recollect, been to us a subject of intense merriment. We do not laugh at a new-born child, because he cannot make chairs, or dance quadrilles, or post ledgers, or write articles; rather do we smile upon him with tender affection, remembering that we were once such as he is now, and reflecting that he will be as we

now are, when we shall have passed away from the social circle, and the world of business, and the republic of letters. And, haply, we breathe for him a silent or uttered prayer, that the career on which he is just entering may be a career of uprightness and honor, or address him in our heart with a sentiment like that of the Eastern poet—

On parents' knees, a naked, new-born child,
Weeping thou sat'st, while all around thee smil'd ;
So live, that, sinking in thy last long sleep,
Thou mayest smile, while all around thee weep.

And with similar feelings are we disposed to regard the newcomer to India—the griffin if you will. Entering upon a new career, amongst strangers—removed, for the first time probably, beyond the reach of paternal counsel, and maternal care, and fraternal sympathy, and—most valuable of all, in some respects, as regards its influence on the formation of a young man's character—of sisterly kindness and confidence—with many hopes and expectations within him, that are destined never to be realized, and with many temptations around him which he has never learned how to resist—our feelings are apt to clothe themselves in the words of another Eastern poet, not less beautiful, and more masculine than those we just now quoted—

The God before whom my fathers did walk,
The God which led me all my life-long unto this day,
The angel which redeemed me from all evil,
Bless the lad !

Now, at last, for M. Pavie's description of the landing. We shall probably consult the wishes of a considerable proportion of our readers, by presenting this, and such other extracts as we may have to make, in an English form, although we are quite aware that we cannot preserve the full richness of flavour that belongs to some of them in the original :—

“ You touch the shore ; a palanquin awaits you, and an officious interpreter invites you to get into it. Behold modern India, such as English occupation and the great *steamers* which are perpetually ploughing the seas, have made it. In this land, where every thing surprises you, no one is surprised at you. As soon as you are cradled in this litter, like a patrician of ancient Rome, a beggar, who deafens you with his lamentations, seeks alms in the name of Allah ! You have a view of the India of the middle age, the India of the Moguls, which Islamism has covered like an immense and fearful wave. The bearers of the palanquin spring alertly on one side. They are making room for a bull with gilt horns, to

‘ which old Brahmans are presenting fresh grass, and whose humped back young girls are caressing. This bull is the emblem of Sivaism. You have found the India of antiquity, whose language and whose myths are lost in the night of time. Three epochs, three civilizations, three faiths encounter each other on this mysterious ground. Above that motley crowd, agitated by so many different thoughts, rise the belfries, the minarets, and the pagodas. The spire of the Christian temple points right upwards (*au milieu des airs*), and goes straight to heaven : at the sound of the bell which rings sweet and sharp, you think with emotion on the perpetual youth of Christianity, which is every day extending its peaceful conquests. From the height of the balconies hung around the minarets, the blind Muezzin invites the Mussulman fatalists to prayer—a distant and enfeebled echo of the Prophet’s summons to the tribes of Arabia. Under the porticoes of the pagodas, around the sacred tanks, sport and run privileged animals, birds and quadrupeds, which the Hindus reverence as images of their gods; and upon the threshold of these temples, devoted to idolatry, the conch in which the Brahman blows, inflating his cheeks like a Triton, makes you dream of ancient Pagan Greece.”

This is purely and thoroughly French. Our author does not tell us where it is that “ we touch the shore,” but it is probably either at Madras or Calcutta, the word which we have rendered *shore* being equally applicable to the bank of a river as to the shore of the sea. But it is not of much moment. All have, of course, read of the great metaphysician who had cultivated the power of abstraction so assiduously and so successfully, that he was quite able to conceive of a Lord Mayor apart from his sword, and his chain and his horse, yea, apart from his arms and legs and paunch, and body and soul and existence—the mere abstraction of a Lord Mayor, possessing all the qualities common to all existing and all possible Lord Mayors, and no quality peculiar to any individual Lord Mayor, or by which one Lord Mayor is distinguished from all the rest. It is probably much so with M. Pavie. His conceptions of an Indian city are of the most abstract kind, and will fit any one of the existing concretes—as well as any other. The churches, the mosques, and the Hindu temples may, very naturally, be regarded as significant symbols of the three great periods into which the history of India divides itself; but our imagination lags a long way behind M. Pavie, when he selects a *palki*, a *fakir*, and a *brahmani* bull as representations of the same periods. Perhaps he means only that there is

present a member of each of the three races who have successively held sway in India, the Hindu, the Mussulman, and the European. But why a Frenchman in a palki should be regarded as very appropriately symbolical of the English rule in India, or a Mussulman beggar should be the chosen figure of Mohammedan conquest and dominion, does, we confess it, puzzle us considerably. The brahmani bull is all very well; though we suspect that the gilding of his horns is the Frenchman's work; and it never happened to us to see the Hindu young ladies caressing the humped back (*le dos bossu*) of one of these animals. Indeed, we think it would be a feat somewhat difficult of accomplishment, and requiring a somewhat abnormal development of the brachial organs. We are not aware that in India blindness is deemed an indispensable qualification for an aspirant to the office of Muczzin, though we have read that it is in some other countries, and it has never been our luck to see a pagoda with a portico.

Our author next treats us to a dissertation on the costumes, and especially the turbans, which distinguish the different Indian races, which he closes thus:—

“ Another mark will indicate to you, whether the Hindu* who passes by you is a Mohammedan or an idolator. The latter crosses his tunic on the right side, in order to allow the sacramental cord, suspended over his left shoulder, to float freely: the former hooks his tunic on the side of the heart. But were he naked, the Pagan Hindu will be betrayed by some symbolical mark painted on his forehead, his breast, or his arms. It is also his custom to unfasten and shake out to the open air, even under the burning sun, his long hair greased with cocoa-nut oil; the Mussulman, on the other hand, always conceals his shaven head under the folds of the turban, or the skull-cap of white cotton.”

That Hindus, when they do wear tunics, button them on the right side, and Mussulmans on the left, is quite true; but as to the reason here assigned for the practice of the former, it does not seem to us to be valid. At most, it could apply only to the Brahmans, who alone ordinarily wear the paita. Moreover, we should think that this paita, passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm, would be more likely to “float freely,” were the buttons removed to the left side. The fact seems to be, that the Hindus borrowed the tunic from the Mohammedans, and altered the form of it merely to distinguish

* M. Pavie uses the term Hindu as a national epithet, including both Pagans and Mohammedans. It is more usual to use it as a religious designation, implying all those who profess the Hindu religion.

them from those of the other creed. It will be new to most of our Indian readers to be told that Hindus always wear long hair, and that Mussulmans always have their heads shaved. Few people are long in India without seeing the dandified khidimutgars of European houses, with their hair hanging in long ringlets over their shoulders ; and it is not generally very long ere they come into contact with a pandit, with the bright effulgence of his scalp relieved only by the tuft of hair on the crown, resembling precisely the scalping tuft of the American Indians, but they would be considerably in error if they concluded that the former was a Hindu and the latter a Mussulman.

The next subject on which our author touches, is that of the professions of the people of India. He tells us that all the professions of advanced civilization are represented in India, and that caste renders these hereditary. " Yet " (says he) " the ' unclassed individuals (*les individus déclassés*), who are neither ' land-holders, nor merchants, nor artizans, nor cultivators, nor ' kings, nor porters, form two great divisions (*deux grand catégories*), the sepoys and the munshis, or as they may be called ' (*comme qui dirait*) the men of the sword, and the men of the ' pen." We had always, in our ignorance, imagined that there *was* a hereditary caste of warriors, and another of writers ; but we must hasten to blot out the terms *kshetra* and *kayastha* from our vocabulary. To us, deeply pondering on this pregnant sentence, there occurred a thought which we humbly presume the world " will not willingly let die." It seems that the two professions of civilization that this country wants, are men of the pen and men of the sword ; and hence, according to the principle of compensation, the East India Company have been led to send out men to supply the deficiency, civilians and soldiers, *comme qui dirait*, writers and cadets. But if we might venture to correct so accurate a writer, we would suggest that the list he gives of the classes that exist, indicates a still wider blank. One of the professions of an advanced civilization is that of the physician ; but physicians are neither land-holders, nor merchants, nor citizens, nor cultivators, nor kings nor porters ; and hence the necessity for the Honorable East India Company's Medical Department. In most civilized communities there is a class of men set apart for the teaching of religion ; but these are not comprehended in the classes enumerated by M. Pavie, hence the origin of the Ecclesiastical Establishment. There are no sailors, and hence the Indian Navy has been called into being. We hope M. Pavie will receive the suggestion of an addition to " the crying wants

of India," as it was previously to the commencement of our rule, with all the attention that, we feel assured, it richly merits.

But we must follow our author in his description of the second of his unclassed classes. It is somewhat long, but we do not think our readers will regard it as tedious:—

"The second (the munshis) have for their characteristic the peaceful pen-case, similar to the ink-stand, which the Copts of Egypt push into the folds of their girdle. The munshi is a valuable man. Have you a letter to write in beautiful Persian character,—a letter with very little matter in it, as is customary in the East, but which must abound in flattering metaphors and anxious wishes? The fine reed-pen, which moves under the nimble fingers of the native, will trace the characters as by magic. Do you wish to learn the language of the country? The countenance of the munshi is lighted up with joy. With spectacles on nose, and a roll of paper under his arm, he approaches you with the mild and polished air of a needy *savant*. His feet bare—he has left his slippers at the door—the turban over his eyes—he sits upon a chair with the embarrassment of a man accustomed to fold his legs under him, and the lesson begins. The munshi is not deficient in knowledge; he speaks and writes, indifferently well, three or four languages; but as he has learned them all, his own included, by rote, it is exceedingly difficult for him to teach them with any method. Fortunately, the lesson degenerates into conversation; the munshi, changing places with his pupil, graciously allows himself to be questioned; and, provided the interviews are continued for some months, one knows enough to make himself understood by the servants—who speak English. In short, the munshi will teach you many things which are not in the books. For example, he will tell you that the Government of the Honorable Company is very much liked by the *natives*, except in four particulars:—stamped paper—the interference of the state with that part of the code which respects women—the tax which is imposed on all lands and tenements—and the employment of the Persian language in all the courts of justice. The Hindu, who is fond of money, is well aware that the result of a law-suit is always doubtful, and he scruples to incur the expense of a sheet of stamped paper of the enormous price of one franc, sixty cents. Was justice less costly under the nawabs? Then again is it an evil that the English law prevents a Hindu husband from retaining by force the wife that demands to be

' separated from him? The question of taxes is one that
 ' is not easily judged of in any country ;—and as to the em-
 ' ployment of a uniform language in the courts of justice—
 ' be it Persian or Hindustani—it is a measure whose object
 ' is to give more unity to this vast country, composed of so
 ' different elements. On taking the place of the Great Mogul,
 ' the Company has undertaken to rule as he did—and more
 ' than he did—over all India ; and as Islamism had penetrated
 ' everywhere, and as Persian was the language of the nawabs,
 ' it became natural that the new Government should adopt this
 ' prevalent idiom. These are questions of detail ; yet it is easy
 ' to see that they touch the natives in their prejudices and inter-
 ' ests. It matters little to the Hindu what master governs him,
 ' *clitellas dum portem meas* ; but he shrinks from the taxation
 ' which lays hold upon a share of the gains of his toilsome
 ' occupation. He is attached to the dialect of his district ;
 ' and he dislikes laws which restrict the omnipotence of the
 ' master of the house, the *pater familias* of Indian society."

This is a long extract ; but we do not think that our readers would have wished us to break off a single sentence short of the end. Indeed, we wish that we could fill our tri-mensual two hundred and fifty pages with matter that is so sure to amuse and instruct them. This is altogether a masterly and life-like sketch. To make it complete, we should mention that we learn from the sentence following our extract, that the original is a Mussulman, and that he is employed ~~as~~ a school-master, and a public writer, and as a secretary to the Mussulman princes. No wonder, though the conversation of so important a personage should be a rich treat ; and such it assuredly is. In these days, when the Charter discussions are going on, and while it may still not be too late to make grievances known in the proper quarter, we cannot but wish that our author had been a little more explicit in stating the four grounds of offence of our honorable masters. As to the stamped paper, it is clear enough. Litigation is to the Hindu the staff of life, and a tax upon it is to him a tax upon daily bread ; but what the munshi refers to when he speaks of "the interference of the state with that part of the code which relates to women," as explained by our author's commentary, that "the English law prevents a Hindu husband from retaining, by force, a wife that demands to be separated from him," and, again, that the laws "restrict the omnipotence of the *pater-familias*"—we cannot for the life of us make out. If he had said just the opposite, and had told us that the law prevents the co-religionist of the munshi from abandoning the wife whom he

wishes to discard, and obliges him to maintain her, then we could have made something of it; but as it stands, it baffles us altogether. As to the third ground of complaint, we are made painfully to feel the pitiableness of our exile in this remote land, cut off from all sources of recent intelligence. We have heard that a worthy clergyman in St. Kilda, though a staunch Protestant, was found praying most devoutly for His most gracious Majesty, William the Fourth, after his august niece had been a full year and day on the throne; but that was nothing in comparison with our ignorance of the state of matters. The very ink in our pen blushes to record the confession, that for the last fourteen years we have been under the impression that the Persian had been superseded by the Vernacular dialects of the several provinces, in the proceedings of the Courts. But of course they know better in Paris. How touching, too, is the candour of our munshi, who, as a scholar and a Persian writer, must have an interest in the continuance of the Persian system, yet who is quite eager to make it known that it is universally unpopular. Ah! if the world were peopled with such men, we should have eldest sons pleading for the abolition of the privileges of primogeniture, and bishops lending the influence of their lawn to a measure for the equalization of livings, and lawyers of all grades combining to excogitate a plan for simplifying and expediting the administration of justice, and agriculturists eloquent for the abolition of protection, and Irishmen entreating to be allowed to pay the income tax. Seriously, however, we should not pass over the good feeling that M. Pavie displays in vindicating the English Government from the imaginary charges preferred against it by his imaginary munshi. It is in pleasing and creditable contrast with the feeling displayed by some of his countrymen towards that Government, and toward all that is English; and we thank him for it.

As a companion to the sketch of the munshi, our author next presents us with a portrait of the pandit. It is painted in a much tamer style than the preceding. Indeed, it is not very different from what an artist *who had been in India* might have painted. But still, that our readers may be in possession of the *pair*, we shall present them with it also:—

“The pandit is a Brahman: he has studied the sacred books, the religious legends, the philosophical treatises. In the service of the rajas he fills the office of spiritual director, leaving to the *purohit* (the family priest) that of sacrificer and officiating priest. In the large towns he devotes himself to teaching; it is he who transmits from generation to genera-

tion the knowledge of the Vedic doctrines ; he it is who has transcribed, with a reed-pen, so many valuable manuscripts on palm leaves, and has thus preserved to our day the monuments of a literature more ancient than that of Greece. The pandit is, in truth, a man of letters. In the libraries founded at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, by the Asiatic Societies, he is employed in revising the texts and arranging them. When the printing of a Sanskrit work is in hand, the editors find in him a conscientious and competent corrector. Devoted to study by condition and duty, the pandit is content with a moderate salary. Though very proud of his knowledge, he scarcely seeks to be appreciated, and finds in the work which he accomplishes the greatest reward of his labor. His conceit is flattered by the anxiety which Europeans display to study the languages of his country, and the systems of belief of which he is himself the representative. For the strangers who make use of his services, he has neither hatred nor affection, but contempt, which he knows how to dissemble to suit his own purposes. The pandit is, above all, a Brahman who holds by the privileges of his order. Provided he can exert his influence over the minds of men, provided that in his person honor be done to the man of letters and the theologian, he submits to the foreign occupation without a murmur."

This, as we have said, is but a tame sketch in comparison with the other, and seems to have been abstracted from the portfolio of some *Indian* artist. Certainly, it exhibits little of M. Pavie's usual brilliancy of coloring.

The next subject that attracts our attention is the description of the pilgrimages of the natives of India to certain places of sanctity. There is nothing in Chaucer to be compared with the following :—

" In this immense extent of country—" extending from Ceylon to the peaks of the Himalaya—" how many places there are, which are celebrated by the poets, towards which a crowd wends its way in pilgrimage ! These families, which travel slowly in small chariots drawn by bullocks—these old Brahmins with white beards, who march in the dust—each with an antelope skin upon his back—these horsemen, with fine moustaches, who trot along on their pretty little horses, the buckler dangling from their shoulder, the sabre from their girdle—these bands of poor people, singing and crying at the pitch of their voices, who drag themselves along from village to village, with no baggage but a cocoa-nut, in which they collect the rice that they beg from door to door—these troops of laborers and petty merchants, who lead weary

“ children by the hand, or carry them astride on their necks—
“ all this crowd proceeds to plunge with enthusiasm into the
“ waters of the Jumna or the Ganges.”

Brahmans with white beards ! Brahmans clothed in skin ! These are new ideas to us.* So is also that of a Hindu, or indeed any Asiatic, *trotting*. How we wish that M. Pavie had recorded the conversation of some of his groups ! If he had done them but half the justice that he does to that of the munshi, he would have thrown Chaucer into the shade entirely.

After a detailed description of the fair or *méla* at Hardwar, which occurs, so he tells us—at the vernal equinox once in twelve years !—by an easy transition, our author passes on to enquire into the condition of the natural rulers of the people. “ They live,” (says he, truly and well,) “ even they, as their fathers lived, and yet, to say the truth, they exist not. I know no spectacle more sad than these rajas, these nabobs, whose arms are bound, and before whom men bow down, saying, *Hail, O king.*” A sad spectacle truly, and one which it were scarcely right to introduce into an article written in the vein of the present. Before leaving the subject altogether, we may just mention, that the only two of these “ puppet-kings” whom our author specifies, are the Emperor of Delhi, and *Runjit Singh* !

The mention of these “monarchs without authority,” (amongst whom, as we have just stated, he includes Runjit Sing,) with their state and display, leads our author to a dissertation on the elephant, the camel and the horse, in which he shows a good deal of ingenuity ; and then he gives a description of cheeta-hunting ; and then he passes on to an account of the musk-doe and the black bear of Kashmir ; and so he passes out of India ; and on the confines we take our leave of M. Pavie, from whose article we have really derived much amusement and some instruction. Of the amusement we have endeavoured to make our readers partakers, of the instruction the sum amounts, as nearly as we can estimate it, to this, that if a man wishes to write well upon a subject, his chances of succeeding will be none the less, if the subject be one about which he knows a little.

And now we must pass “from lively to severe,” from the Magazine article, to the two-volume work, from M. Pavie to

* It is quite true that amongst the Sanyassis, whom M. Pavie is here attempting to describe, there are some Brahmins, or, to state the matter more correctly, men who have been Brahmins. These men allow their beards to grow, and wear the antelope's or leopard's skin. But this, not in their Brahmanical capacity. In fact, the life of a Sanyassi is incompatible with the duties of a Brahman, and the Brahman who becomes a Sanyassi, *ipso facto* relinquishes all the privileges of his caste.

the Baron B. de Penhoën, and from the style of good-natured banter to that of earnest examination as to the truth or falsehood of charges advanced against one of the most important institutions in the world. First of all we would enter our protest against a practice that cannot be too strongly reprobated, of which the work before us affords an instance. On the outer cover, the author is styled *Representant du peuple*, and the date of the publication is given as 1850; but in the proper title-page there is no such "handle" to the author's name, and the date of publication is 1844. This is not difficult to account for. The book was published in 1844, but the copies remained unsold. In 1850 the agitation about the renewal of the Company's Charter began in England, and the interest taken in Indian affairs by the people of England, and communicated in some degree to intelligent men on the continent of Europe, was greatly increased. Advantage was taken of this enhanced interest, in order to dispose of a few copies of the Baron's still-born work; a new cover was printed, and the book was re-issued as a fresh publication. It may be said that there is no great harm in this; that a book written in 1844 might be just as good as one written in 1850. But to this we reply that, at all events, the thing is *a lie*, a false pretence to induce people to buy what they would not otherwise have bought. But, besides this, we maintain that while a book written in 1850 might have been quite *as good* as any written in 1844—no one written in 1844 could, by possibility, be *so good*, for the purpose of giving its readers a correct view of the present state of India, as one that *might have* been written in 1850. Independently of the actual changes that took place in the interval, it is no small matter that a great deal of information was accessible at the later date, which was not at the former. Were there nothing else—we say it, not by way of boasting, but as a simple fact, directly bearing on the point in hand—it was something, that between the beginning of 1844 and the end of 1850, there were issued no fewer than fourteen volumes of the *Calcutta Review*, containing, we must be allowed to say, a larger amount of correct information respecting the peculiarities of the Indian Government, and the condition of the people under the British rule, than the Baron B. de Penhoën, in 1844, had collected from all sources put together. We hope the fraud is entirely the work of the publishers, and that the Baron was not cognizant of its perpetration.

From the Preface we learn that the work now before us is a sequel to a previous work by the same author, a history of the conquest of India by England; and this work seems to

have been in six octavo volumes. The present work is a natural and necessary supplement to the former.

To give our readers a general idea, at the outset, of the spirit in which the work before us is composed, we shall present them with a short extract from the preface :—

“ The English, on landing in India, were concerned with one sole interest, that of commerce ; they proposed to themselves but one end to their policy, that of peace. But wars speedily give birth to wars, conquests are continually added to conquests. Scarcely have they ceased to find themselves under the protection of their cannons around Madras and Calcutta, when their chief care is not to extend their dominion, but rather to contract it ; and yet an irresistible force impels them, drags them, bears them on, in some sort, beyond the limit which they designed to maintain. It is because the English genius had found there a field so favorable to its development, that nothing could arrest, or even retard it. The West and the East once brought face to face under the power of certain conditions, it was impossible that the former should not triumph over the latter. The one could not but absorb the other by the mere force of attraction. The princes of the East, with their want of foresight and their childishness, could not come into contact with the British constancy and tenacity, without being broken to pieces— glass against the brass.

“ In all that relates to the consolidation of their rule, the English see their efforts equally frustrated, but in the opposite direction. The best, or rather the only possible foundation for this rule, would be the happiness of the people who are subject to it ; what it has hitherto effected is their misery, their ruin, their desolation. England is wrong in all her calculations, she is disappointed in all her expectations, she cannot wish any thing without immediately realizing the opposite thing. She proposes, for example, the reform of a judiciary organization which is repugnant to her European ideas, and the result is the destruction, the annulment, of all justice, and the consignment of millions of men to despotism, violence and oppression. She proposes a corresponding reform in the financial administration, and she takes from a people, already miserable beyond all expression, their last morsel of bread, their last grain of rice. She has a fancy to create off-hand, for Bengal, a territorial aristocracy, and she destroys utterly an aristocracy already existing, which she throws, poor and plundered, into the bosom of the multitude, with which its remains must be mingled. She tries at Madras to

introduce a proprietary democracy, and the result is a violent, oppressive, brutal aristocracy. She wishes to introduce into the Indo-British army the same discipline which has been to her worth so many victories—she destroys the *warrior-spirit*, (*l'esprit guerrier*) that formerly characterized it, without substituting for it the *soldier-spirit*, (*l'esprit soldatesque*.) The affection of the soldiers for their chiefs had been hitherto the spirit, the soul, the bond of that army; she seems to take pleasure in wounding, in crushing this sentiment. She makes for herself secret but ardent enemies of those Indian warriors, who, during a century, have poured out their blood for her on numberless battle-fields. The distinctive qualities of the English genius are all turned in opposition to the work of England. The perseverance, the constancy which drives the Englishman onward till he reaches the end of the path on which he has entered, here become mournful. The national ignorance and prejudices have placed him in a position where he cannot fail to perfect the ruin of the conquered population."

This is the enunciation of the general proposition, which it is the grand design of the Baron B. de Penhoën, throughout his two volumes, to establish; and the establishment of the proposition he effects, to his own satisfaction, by the usual process of collecting together all the faults that have ever been found with the details of the Company's administration, and most determinedly ignoring all that has ever been said in its vindication or commendation. This is unfair in every way, in itself, and doubly so, in as much as he culls his charges from books of old date, and represents all the evils charged, as if they actually applied to either the real or the fictitious date of his book, whereas many of the evils had been remedied before 1844, and many more before 1850.

As to the omissions, we may notice that there is not a single word said about the public works constructed under the auspices of the Company; not a single allusion is made to the existence of the educational department; no reference is made to the fact, which we hold to be incontrovertible, of the gradual change of the sentiments of the people generally respecting the character of the English and their rule. All these are matters of very considerable moment, and the omission of all reference to them, whether proceeding from intention or ignorance, must vitiate any conclusion derived from other facts as to the character of the British rule, and its bearing upon the interests of the people subject to it.

It is customary for writers like-minded with the Baron B. de Penhoën, to contrast the niggardly expenditure of the British Government for objects of general utility, with the munificent outlay of some of the Mohammedan sovereigns. But in these comparisons it is always forgotten that the works of the Mohammedan emperors, although they might eventually prove public benefits, were invariably undertaken for private and purely selfish ends. A hundred miles of road were made, and planted on either side with trees, and the ultimate result was that the people might travel on the road and be shaded by the trees; but the sole object of the making of the one, and the planting of the other, was the comfort of the emperor himself. A noble serai was built at an enormous cost, and it became available for the accommodation of travellers; but its original intention was simply the accommodation of the emperor; and so as to tanks, wells, and all the public works of the Mohammedan dynasty. So far as we know, it would be impossible to point to a single public work, undertaken by a Mohammedan sovereign of India, with a view to the comfort or good of the people; although we are quite willing to admit that the people have ultimately profited by the works which these sovereigns undertook for the purpose of ministering to their own luxury. It cannot be denied that the public works of the English have been constructed purely for the accommodation and comfort of the people. The Government have been benefited indirectly, as in the case of the embankments of rivers, but it has been only by a small per-centa^{ge} on the benefits reaped by the people themselves.

We are at war with the Government in respect to many points connected with their educational institutions, and we have no wish to compromise the strife; but it is a simple fact, that more money is spent on these institutions, and spent more judiciously, than would be spent by any other power, European or Asiatic, under which India could possibly have been placed; and we submit that it is altogether unfair and dishonest for an author, writing in 1844, and still more for one professing to write in 1850, to pass over *sub silentio* the educational efforts of the government. If our author had shown that these efforts are too limited in extent, and to a considerable extent mis-directed, (if the object be the intellectual, moral and spiritual elevation of the people submitted to the sway of Great Britain,) he should have had us as willing, and we trust not ineffective, allies; but we must protest that the account which professes to give a fair statement of the relation which subsists between the

Government and the people, and which leaves wholly out of view the educational operations of the former, is wholly defective and untrue.

As to the estimation in which the English are held by the natives, we believe that there is no man who has ever been in India, that will not bear testimony, that the latter, *as a body*, entertain very exalted notions as to the intellectual and moral character of the former *as a body*. That there are individuals amongst the natives, who are in the habit of bringing sweeping charges against the Europeans, and representing them as stained with every possible or conceivable crime, is most true. But if the accusers be cross-questioned, it will be generally found that the charges resolve themselves into little more than this, that the Europeans have no objection to a well-cooked beef-steak, if the accuser be a Hindu, or that they have not, generally, any very deep-rooted abhorrence of a slice of ham and turkey, if he be a Mussulman. Then again it is equally true, and most deeply to be deplored, that there are individual Europeans against whom the natives in their neighbourhood bring charges of immorality, which are in general well founded. But there are exceptions on either side; and whoever states, as the Baron B. de Penhoën states, and repeats again, and again, and again, that the natives generally entertain a bad opinion of the Europeans generally, he states what is decidedly untrue. Why, we have ourselves known the natives of a district buy up the furniture of a Collector who was about to leave them, at enormous prices, in order that they might have something in their possession that had belonged to him; and although this may be an unusual case, it is nothing unusual for the people of a district to feel a firm and impregnable conviction, that the European Magistrate, or Judge, or Collector, will certainly do them justice, if their case come before him on its merits. Now this, we assert, is a new idea altogether infused into the native mind, which for many generations had never formed the conception of abstract justice, or of the mere merits of a case having any influence at all in determining the decision of its judicial arbitrator.

So much as to what our author omits altogether; let us now advert briefly to the positive charges that he brings against our Government. The first is, that they have extended their territories. This, as a mere assertion, is indisputable, and our author is sufficiently correct, in so far as merely secondary causes are concerned, in accounting for it. "It is because the English genius has found here a field so favourable to its development that 'nothing can arrest or even retard it.' As a simple statement

of facts, this is sufficiently true; but in so far as it is intended as the foundation of a charge against our nation of an inordinate desire for territorial acquisition, it becomes virtually and practically untrue. We have never lent ourselves to the advocacy of the theory, that because the British power is paramount in India, it is entitled, by fair means or foul, to absorb all inferior powers, and swallow up their territories. Nor do we say that every "annexation" has been justified by absolute necessity at the precise time at which it has taken place; but still, call it by what name you like,—the genius of England if you look at the secondary means, or the over-ruling Providence of God if you will look at the higher cause,—an irresistible necessity has led to our successive conquests. We say not this by way of justifying the aggressive spirit. The disasters of Cabul are quite sufficient to read us a lesson that our genius has its limits, that Providence may lead us, but will not be led by us; and there is no truth that we would more constantly have impressed upon our Government than this, that the acquisition of more territory is ever to be regarded as an evil which must be bravely encountered, when the alternative comes upon us of choosing between this and a greater evil, rather than as a good, which should be sought for on its own account.

The next charge that our author brings against the English is, that in their attempts to reform a judiciary organization, repugnant to their European ideas, they have destroyed all justice, and consigned millions of men to despotism, violence and oppression. Now we are perfectly well aware that there are defects in the judiciary organization of the Company, and these defects we have no desire to disguise or to palliate. Our own opinion certainly is, that a more summary process, both in criminal prosecutions and in civil suits, would afford at least as good a prospect of substantial justice being done, and certainly at less cost, to plaintiffs, defendants, witnesses, and all parties concerned. But to say that the substitution of the Company's Courts for the old native courts has had the effect that our author attributes to it, is simply to say what is not true. But how does the Baron B. de Penhoën contrive to make out this heinous charge? By as singular a concatenation of mis-statements, we venture to assert, as were ever collected in an equal amount of space. Let us just give a specimen or two. In describing the Judges' Courts, our author informs us, that "formerly the pleadings were in 'Persian or Hindostani, at the option of the parties; but of late English has superseded these two languages! The wit-

' nesses are interrogated, examined *vivâ voce* in public. Their answers, formerly in the two languages just mentioned, but now in English, are immediately reduced to writing." Why, M. Pavie's munshi was nothing at all to this! As to the proceedings of the Sudder Adawlut Nizamut, we are informed that they are similar in all points to those followed in the Criminal Courts in England! We sometimes see in the Calcutta auction catalogues, an entry of this kind: No. 1547, "A Plated Candlestick;" No. 1548 "Ditto to match, differing." To what extent the articles in question "match," and to what extent they "differ," we do not know; but we should imagine that between the Criminal Courts of England and those of India, there is considerably more difference than resemblance. Our readers will scarcely believe, and yet we assure them that it is simply true, that our author evidently believes that the Governor-General and his Council are still the Judges of the Sudder Court!

But the ground on which our author mainly rests the charge under consideration, is the exorbitant claims of the Supreme Court. He gives in detail the whole of the "tame elephant" controversy; and quotes at great length from Mr. Shore, (whom, by the way, he imagines to be Sir John Shore) regarding the mode in which the Supreme Courts of the several Presidencies sought to annihilate the jurisdiction of the Company's Courts altogether; and *this* is the "despotism, violence, and oppression," to which he declares that the millions of the people of this country are consigned. We have no reason to suppose that he is not quite honest in believing that this state of things continues still; but there is a degree of ignorance which, in a historian or a political writer, is not less culpable than dishonesty itself, and we do think that our author has reached that limit.

As to the settlement of the land revenue, which our author asserts to have produced such disastrous consequences, we are forced to admit, what has been again and again asserted in our pages, that in many respects it is far from being satisfactory. But that the exorbitance of the tax has been the means of ruining the body of native gentry, we most distinctly and emphatically deny. That there have been large numbers of sales of zemindaries for default of payment of revenue, is quite true; and it is to be supposed that no zemindar would permit his property to be brought to the hammer, if he had the means of satisfying the claims of the Collector. But we venture to assert, that, in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred, this inability arises, not from the excessiveness of the

land tax, but from the foolish extravagance of the zemindars. We know that it is not unusual for a family, who are deeply in debt to Government, and perfectly aware that the sale of their estates will be the result unless the debt be discharged, to expend a sum upon the debaucheries of the *durgá pujá*, which, if paid into the hands of the Collector, would have extricated them from all their difficulties. The credit of the family for liberality was at stake on the one hand, the existence of the family was at stake on the other ; and if they have deliberately chosen to incur real annihilation, rather than undergo imaginary disgrace, who shall blame the Government that, in such cases, enforces its claims ? We feel a real sympathy for the ancient aristocracy of a country rushing on to ruin ; but it is a law enacted by a power infinitely higher than that of the East India Company, that the profligate aristocracy that will not be reformed, must perish. This law is in operation in poor Ireland, and it is in operation in India ; and in both countries it is not unusual to ascribe its results to other causes than the real ones. There is no zemindar who does not draw from his ryots enough to pay the Government revenue, and to maintain his own family in a station suited to his position ; and if many will squander the money that ought to be applied to these purposes, the ultimate result is as certain as the fall of an unsupported stone to the ground.

It may seem superfluous to point out single instances of misrepresentation in a book where misrepresentation is the rule rather than the exception ; but it may be well to give a single example, as a fair sample of the whole. The following is a literal translation of one of our author's paragraphs :—

“ The prejudices of the castes, with reference to marriages, has occasioned the employment of another method [of realizing the revenue] still more powerful. The castes, as has been often said, are sub-divided into numerous tribes. These, when they are on a footing of equality, form alliances with each other quite naturally. At the same time marriage is not prohibited between tribes, provided the inequality between them be not too great. It is only necessary that the inequality be compensated by certain advantages on the one side. Thus marriages, in India as elsewhere, may give occasion for all sorts of calculations of interest and selfishness. When the daughters of the superior tribes contract alliances with the men of inferior tribes, the dowry compensates for the social inferiority ; but it is the dowry of primitive times, that payed by the husband to the family of the bride, in short, the price of the wife. But the genius of

fiscality (*le genie de la fiscalité*) has contrived to turn all this to account. A man of a high tribe is in arrears; he has, at the same time, a marriageable daughter. The exchequer (*le fisc*) puts its hand on an individual of an inferior tribe—often much inferior—and proposes him, or rather imposes him, as a son-in-law on the defaulter, on condition always of his paying a considerable sum as the dowry of his wife, the amount being in proportion to the inferiority of his tribe. But as it is the exchequer, and not the father, that has, in fact, effected the marriage, the exchequer, like an excellent logician, and not the father, fingers the dowry. Moreover, if there remains any surplus after the arrears are paid, even that will not go to the profit of the father, but to that of the exchequer agent (*l'agent du fisc*). It is the reward of his cares and his negotiations."

The authority given for this statement is "*Shore, t. II., p. 186.*" This reference, like most of the others, is incorrect; but we have found, after some search, the passage intended to be referred to, and discovered, as we had expected, that this practice, instead of being imputed to "the exchcquer," is represented as a trick resorted to by the native tahsildars. Mr. Shore adds, indeed, that some of the Collectors were well aware of the existence of such practices among their native subordinates, and that they winked at them, because they knew that they could not effectually prevent them.

As to the constitution of our native army, it seems to us a matter of little moment to enquire whether it is the warrior-spirit or the soldier-spirit that animates our troops. One thing is certain, that hitherto they have been found capable of accomplishing the various tasks assigned to them, and that those who have seen most of their conduct in the past, have every confidence in their ability to meet all future demands that are likely to be made upon them.

And now we have done with the Baron B. de Penhoën. The chief characteristics of his book are presumptuous ignorance,—rendered all the more striking by its assuming the guise of a deep philosophy,—and deep-rooted malignity, which it is vainly attempted to hide under the cobweb veil of affected candour.

ART. III.—*Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government—No. IX. Report on the Teak Forests of the Tenasserim Provinces. By H. Falconer, M. D. F. R. S., Superintendent of the Honorable Company's Botanical Gardens, Calcutta; with other papers on the Teak Forests. Calcutta, 1852.*

WHEN once Forest Laws had ceased to be really Game Laws of a most oppressive description—when the old feudal sense of the term had nearly passed away, and the nation, rapidly developing its mercantile instincts, had become a maritime power of importance, it might have been expected that the Administration of the Department of Woods and Forests would have called forth attention, and that the very favor with which the wooden walls, which formed her strength, pride, and defence, were regarded, would have ensured that the oaken preserves, from which her fleets were supplied, met with the utmost care, and were under the most efficient regulation. Such, however, appears never to have been the case in England. Whether it were owing to the circumstance that the Forest Laws were never wholly disengaged from their feudal combination with vexatious Game Laws, the royal forests being even now partially under this sort of complicated jurisdiction, or whether it were that the spread of commerce and colonization, by affording peculiar facilities for the timber trade, appeared to open up such inexhaustible sources of supply, that the value of the national woods, from their comparatively insignificant extent, seemed scarcely worth the trouble of being well looked after,—certain it is, that maritime England, whose vessels of war, afloat and in ordinary, amount to about six hundred and fifty, bearing an armament of eighteen thousand pieces of artillery, and those vessels, engaged in her foreign and coasting trade, while all attempts at correct estimation, will not stand comparison in her forest administration with some of the Continental nations, who have, in reality, very inferior motives for the conservancy of their forests. Even her rival and neighbour, France, surpasses England in this respect; for, although, by the law of the 7th August, 1850, the alienation of forests, to the amount of 50,000,000 francs, was determined, and in the President's Budget of 1852, the Minister of Finance was, in accordance with that law, authorized to alienate forests to the amount of 15,000,000 francs; yet, it is well known that the state is only parting with its least valuable tracts, and that the civil, military, and naval constructions of the Empire

are abundantly provided from the forests which remain under state management. Not so with the corresponding department of maritime England, whose "woods and forests" are become a proverb, whilst her dock-yards, in the matter of timber, as in almost all other points, betray an utter want of knowledge, forethought, economy, and system. One of the Parliamentary papers lately issued, tells its own story. Let it be remembered, that the number of vessels, afloat and in ordinary, is a known quantity ; that the number of vessels on the stocks is also so ; and that to the number of the new vessels, the construction of which is likely to be undertaken in any one year, whether of peace or war, a pretty correct approximation can be made—bearing these few simple facts in mind, look at the fluctuating amount of contracts for the supply of English oak timber to the Admiralty. In February, 1840, an agreement is made for 24,000 loads of timber ; then it is reduced to 16,000 ; but, ultimately, a contract is made in 1841, for 13,812 loads ; in 1843, for 20,000 ; in 1845, for only 2,625 loads ; in 1846, for 20,000 ; in 1847, for 800 to 1,000 ; in 1848, for 5,000 ; in 1849, for 940 ; and in 1850, for 16,500 loads. Oscillations in the annual supply from 800 to 24,000 loads in times of peace, can only originate, either from want of system and ordinary arrangement, or else from gross jobbery. Where, however, an annual expenditure of from £5,200 to £156,000, for the single item, English oak, takes place in the dock-yards, over and above the value of the oak received from the Department of Woods and Forests, there would have been no harm in such a management of the latter, as should have secured that the cost of the oak from the King's Forests, instead of averaging £8-12-7 per load, should have been no higher than the average contract cost of £6-6 per load. In spite of the ominous forebodings of many, and the preparations of Napoleon III., we may still indulge the hope that "Britannia rules the Waves," but that she rules her dock-yards, or the fifteen royal forests, very few would be bold enough to assert. If the helmed Lady can, however, for a few minutes, lay aside her spear and shield, and dip into the volume whose title is given at the head of this article, she may derive some little consolation from the discovery, that her worthy progeny, Anglo-India, like a dutiful daughter, follows in the wake of so revered a parent, evincing no intention, by the display of a precocious and invidious wisdom, of shaming Madam Mother-Country.

We have been led into this digression from the fortuitous circumstance, that much about the same time that Lord Dun-

can was engaged in the agreeable task of exposing to the House of Commons the misrule and mismanagement prevalent in the Department of Woods and Forests, Dr. Falconer and Mr. W. R. Baillie appear to have been at work, drawing up Reports and compilations upon the subject of the teak forests of the Tenasserim Coast. Neither of these gentlemen, it is true, had exactly the same object in view that animated Lord Duncan; this, from their positions, was not to be expected. Incidentally, however, they reveal a good deal more than they express, and as the Bengal Government has considerably published these gentlemen's papers for general information, accompanied by a summary of papers relating to the Madras and Bombay forests, the public is afforded an insight into the Anglo-Indian administration of its Department of "Woods and Forests." The publication of this collection of papers is therefore well-timed, both with respect to our new appropriation, Pegu, and also with regard to the increased attention which the English public is, at the present conjuncture, giving to all East Indian affairs. For Pegu it is important that, at the moment when its elastic and indefinite boundary is made (conveniently enough) to comprise many a broad tract of goodly teak forest, the act of forest administration should be set forth, if not by an authoritative canon of successful administration, by the equally instructive warning of authentic failure; whilst, for England, it will be convenient to be furnished with an irrefragable instance of the amount of foresight and ability displayed by her Anglo-Indian administrators, superior and subordinate, in a department in which English management, as exemplified in the administration of the King's forests, has, in one sense, not only been rivalled, but surpassed.

Commencing then with the Madras and Bombay forests, the first in the order of time which came under the attention of the British authorities, we shall premise that the meaning of the compiler is not clear, when, alluding to the voluminous papers from these two Presidencies, he states that "the information they contain on the early history of the Madras and Bombay forests, is not so complete as that which has been obtained regarding the Tenasserim teak forests." Our earliest acquaintance with the latter forests only dates from the cession of the Tenasserim provinces under the treaty of Yandaboo, in 1826, and the reports of Dr. Wallich on the Salween and Attaran forests, in 1827; whereas our acquaintance with the Madras and Bombay teak forests is synchronous with that critical period, when the fall of Tippú made us masters in the South; and is therefore a good quarter of a

century anterior to our conquests from Burmah, and our connection with the forests on the Tenasserim coast. Accordingly, so early as 1800, we find the Court of Directors authorizing the assumption of the sovereignty, as it was termed, of the forests which had fallen under our jurisdiction :—

"The principal forest districts are those of Malabar, Canara, Travancore and Gúzerat, on the Western Coast of the Peninsula of Hindostan. There are also, in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry, on the eastern side of the Peninsula, extensive forests, which stretch inland in a westerly direction, towards the territories of the Nizam. The abundant stores of excellent ship timber, which were supposed to exist in the Malabar forests, very early attracted the notice of the Bombay Government, to which the province of Malabar was subject for some years after its acquisition. At first the forests were regarded as private property, but shortly after, there appeared ground for believing that, during the dominion of Tippú Salib, the right of felling timber had been (as it was up to 1840, in the neighbouring countries of Cochin and Travancore) an exclusively royal privilege. Accordingly, in August, 1800, the Court of Directors authorized the Bombay Government to assume this right on behalf of the East India Company. The province of Malabar, having, however, been made subordinate to the Presidency of Fort St. George, the Court's instructions remained some time without effect. In 1805, the Bombay Government, to which the control of the forests had been intermediately restored, appointed commissioners of survey to ascertain the limits of what might be considered public forests, and to distinguish them from groves and plantations forming part of private estates. In 1806 an officer was appointed conservator, but it was not till the 20th April, 1807, that a proclamation was issued, asserting the Company's right of sovereignty over the forests, and forbidding the felling of the timber by private individuals."

This assumption of the sovereignty of the forests, or royalty, by the orders of the Court of Directors, was an arbitrary act, in imitation of their predecessor Tippú, a person whose examples they might have been slow and circumspect in following. Further on, at page 203, we read :—"On the subject of royalty, Mr. Underwood states, that under the former Rajahs the trade was free, and the right of private individuals unfettered, the owners of forests working them or not, as they pleased—the only interference by the ruling authority being the levy of a small duty of about one rupee per

candy. When Tippú Sahib took possession of the province of Malabar, he, in the exercise of his rights as conqueror, annihilated this private right, and created the forests into a monopoly, working them himself. From Tippú's own statement, it appears that, by this measure, he gained a revenue of Rupees 90,000 annually, exclusive of charges. He, however, so far recognized the rights of the proprietors as to make them an allowance of two fanams per tree of ten inches diameter. Tippú appears to have first assumed the royalty of the forests in 1784-5, and it is argued that, on the cession of the country by him, the Company's Government acquired the same rights, and, in fact, on the transfer of the territory, did assume and temporarily exercise those rights, but afterwards threw open the trade, and levied a duty of two rupees per candy. The monopoly, however, was re-established, first by the proclamation of the Collector in 1806, which prohibited the felling and exportation of timber; and, secondly, in the proclamation of the Madras Government, dated 25th April, 1807, wherein the sovereignty of the forests was assumed, and all persons prohibited from cutting or destroying trees, or young plants, under the penalty of being treated as plunderers."

Considering that Malabar was ceded to us by Tippú, on the 18th March, 1792, when only seven years had elapsed since, in the exercise of what he deemed the rights of conquest, all private forest rights had been abrogated by that unscrupulous ruler, time can scarcely be said to have established a prescriptive right to the continuance of a measure, the act of an arbitrary despot; and it seems passing strange that it should have been adopted by the Court of Directors, for good policy pointed to the expediency of contrasting our rule with Tippú's, in the lately ceded districts, by respect for well established rights, and a reversion to a more conciliatory mode of administration than that which he had so lately introduced. It is true that the compiler (page 178) asserts "that the instructions of the Court of Directors of August, 1800, show that their object was to receive a regular supply of timber for public purposes, from unappropriated lands, to which alone the proclamation was intended to apply,"—but as the words, in which the instructions were conveyed, are not quoted, the validity of this apology for the conduct of the Court of Directors cannot well be admitted; for it is clear, that those who received the orders in question, did not thus comprehend them, but carried them into execution with as wide a scope, and as general an application as Tippú himself could have done; and what

is more, as militating strongly against this apology, they were long permitted, without check or hindrance, to act in conformity with their own reading of the instructions.

That the proclamation of 1807, which formed the basis of the conservator's authority, contained no definition of the term "sovereignty," and that the forests over which the sovereignty extended were not therein specified, appear but lame reasons for shifting responsibility from the shoulders of the Court of Directors and Bombay Government, to those of the conservator; particularly after having specially stated, that the rights which the Bombay Government were authorized to assume in behalf of the East India Company, were those which Tippú Sahib had exercised. A clearer and more matter-of-fact definition of the word "sovereignty" could not very well have been hit upon: and it is difficult to understand how, with such an unmistakeable comment on the meaning of this comprehensive term, the conservator can be alleged to have assumed much larger powers than were entrusted to him. Still more difficult is it to comprehend how, under the supposition that he had exceeded his powers, the conservator was not at once checked, instead of being allowed, for twelve years, to carry on operations which are thus described by the compiler.

" But the conservator, acting upon his own views on these points, succeeded, in a short time, in establishing a monopoly of all the timber of the two provinces of Malabar and Travancore. He cut down and appropriated to the use of the Company, not only the trees of the private forests, but even those growing on cultivated lands, paying revenue to Government, while the proprietor himself, unless expressly permitted by the conservator, was prevented from cutting a picce of wood on his own property, or removing the young seedling plants that were injuring his land. It does not clearly appear whether any payment was made to the proprietor for the timber taken by the conservator from his estate, but he was obliged, nevertheless, to pay duty upon the timber growing upon his own property, when he made use of any of it for his own purposes. The trade in timber was almost annihilated, for even if the merchant could obtain the conservator's permission to purchase private timber not required by Government, he had no longer the same means of disposing of it, its exportation having been prohibited soon after the establishment of the new system. Finally, the peasantry were deprived of the privilege of cutting wood for fuel and other ordinary purposes, a privilege which they had enjoyed from time immemorial, and which was stated to be particularly

' prized in the rainy climate of Malabar, where large buildings
' are required by the peasants, for the protection of themselves
' and their property."

It is clear, that measures of the kind here depicted, could not be carried on by the conservator for a dozen years, without the co-operation of other departments, and the sanction of superior authority ; and therefore we cannot approve of the attempt to cast the onus of such hyper-Tippú-an measures upon the luckless conservator, Captain Watson, whom the compiler would make, in lieu of the Court of Directors and the Local Government, a propitiatory sacrifice to the *odium publicum*. A revulsion came at last, however, in favor of the victims of this strain upon the " royalty " prerogative. The office of conservator, and the whole prohibitive system, not even excepting its operation in the forests which were indubitably Government property, were swept away in 1822, as inconsiderately and unconditionally as Tippú's Forest Code had been adopted in 1800. Rajas and landholders recovered their ancient possessions, and permission being granted by Government, to any one, on the payment of a small duty, to fell and carry away timber *ad libitum*, there was a ten years' run upon the forests, before Government began to apprehend that they had passed from one extreme to another, and that the profitless devastation of the forests was proceeding with a rapidity that, unless measures were promptly taken, must speedily " issue (to use the compiler's words) in the entire dissolution of the forests."

In 1830, therefore, the reaction commenced. The Bombay Government called upon the Indian Navy Board to submit a report on the Malabar forests, with a view to arrangements being made for their preservation and improvement, and that body recommended the re-appointment of a conservator, " whose attention should be solely devoted to the preservation of the forests, on the same principle as that part of the duty of the conservator was formerly exercised." We have shewn what those principles had been, and how they were exercised ; it is therefore not very surprising that the Bombay Government took to consulting the Madras Government on the subject ;— nor is it more so, that the latter transferred the correspondence, in 1831, to their Board of Revenue, for " consideration and report." Having lodged the question safely with an Indian Board, where of course it slept securely for six years, that is, until 1837, we must now turn to the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, to trace what was doing about this time with the teak forests of our newly acquired possessions, the provinces lopped off in 1826 from the Burman Empire.

In 1827, Dr. Wallich, the Superintendent of the Honorable Company's Botanical Gardens at Calcutta, having been deputed to examine and report upon the resources of the Tenasserim provinces generally, but especially upon their available supplies of timber, ascended the Salween and Attaran rivers, and after examining some of the forest tracts upon their banks, lost no time in submitting to Government the information he had collected, and the opinions he had formed.

Para 32.—“On the 25th April Dr. Wallich submitted his report to Government, and at the same time forwarded a copy of it to Sir Archibald Campbell, whose attention he called, particularly, to the value and importance of the teak timber resources of the province, and to the necessity of measures being adopted by the *Government*, for their preservation and extension. On these subjects the opinions and suggestions of Dr. Wallich are especially deserving of notice, as they show that he foresaw how the forests would be exhausted, by the very causes which afterwards produced that result. His views and suggestions will be found in the following paragraphs, which have been taken from his letter to Sir Archibald Campbell. After stating that the forests contained extensive supplies of excellent teak, which had been proved, by experiments, to be better adapted for gun-carriages than the teak of Malabar and Java, and that the country afforded very great natural facilities, by land and water, for transporting the timber to the seaports, Dr. Wallich wrote: ‘No forest exists which can, with propriety, be called inexhaustible,—at least none that is liable to constant and extensive demands for timber. The quantity of teak used for public purposes, both military and naval, is so great, and it will go on increasing to so great an extent, in proportion as new sources of supply are opened, that the Martaban forests, ample as they are, would be soon impoverished, unless they were placed under a vigilant and strict superintendence, their supplies regulated with economy, and their extent gradually augmented. I hope I take a correct view of the case if I consider all the teak forests which grow in these provinces, as the exclusive property of the state, applicable only to public uses, and not to be interfered with by any private individual whatever. Unless this principle be acted upon from the very outset, I will venture to predict that private enterprise will, very soon, render fruitless all endeavors to perpetuate the supplies for the public service, and one of the principal and most certain sources of revenue will thus be irrevocably lost. The most

important step towards establishing a proper system for the management of the forests, and without which all others can be of no avail, will be a public declaration to the above effect, strictly prohibiting all persons, not duly authorized, from cutting down any of the trees. But this done, the detail of the future management may be accomplished with comparatively trifling expense, and with little trouble.

In the first instance, it will be proper to cut down all the full-sized teaks as soon as ever it is possible, in order that a large consignment of valuable timbers might be speedily realized, and room afforded for supplying fresh additions to the number of trees in the forests. All the young and under-sized trees should be allowed to stand unmolested, and their growth facilitated; any individual among them which was found decayed, should be at once cut down. Every other description of trees, in the least interfering with the teak, ought to be removed, so far as this would be compatible with safety, with reference to the necessary shelter from high winds. The places vacated by all these thinnings and fellings, ought to be forthwith supplied by seedlings, which will spontaneously spring up under the teak trees in every direction, and which should be allowed to grow up, only removing, from time to time, such among them as stand in the way of others, or do not promise to become good trees. I will go one step further, and recommend that the limits of the natural forests themselves should be extended, and that some of the high tracts of land, so well adapted for the growth of teak, which are to be met with in such abundance along the rivers, should be converted into plantations. It may, at first sight, perhaps, appear premature to propose the adoption of an undertaking, the expediency of which is not supported by immediate urgency, and the ultimate benefit of which cannot be realized within half a century or more. To these two objections the answer is very simple—the first of them applies to many other public undertakings, which would prove the more beneficial, for not being procrastinated until the unwelcome day of necessity. The second objection is applicable to plantations of all other sorts of timber trees, with this advantage in favor of plantations in India, that they are reared with less expense and trouble than those in Europe, and become, in general, available in half the time required by them. Millions of money would have been saved to Great Britain, if, by early attending to the importance of re-inforcing and enlarging the internal resources of timber, the necessity of foreign importation had been superseded.

Surprising as it may be, the fact is not the less true, that our Indian forests of standard timber have, within the last twenty years, become very perceptibly deteriorated ; the forests, which were looked upon as holding forth the prospect of unceasing supplies, have become exhausted, and even the vast saul forests of Hindostan have begun, of late, to fail. It is a circumstance worthy of being remarked here, that this tree, the saul, grows perfectly wild at Moulmein.'

There could be no doubt, whatever, of the correctness of Dr. Wallich's view as to the forests being state property ; here it was no question of accepting and acting upon a Tippú-code of forest appropriation and " sovereignty ;" large tracts of wooded wilds, abounding with valuable timber, and in which the sound of the axe had scarcely been heard, had fallen into our hands, unembarrassed by a single claim upon the " royalty." In fact, the laws and customs of the country established the " royalty ;" for numerous as were the canoes of Burmans and Peguers, not a tree was cut down in the forests, with the view of being turned into a canoe, without written permission being first obtained from the local authorities. A wild and timid race, who wandered about in the mountain ranges, and shunned contact with their Burman oppressors, proved, indeed, not easily amenable to this law, for they would clear and burn patches of forest, in order to raise a crop of rice, wherever the site suited their fancies ; and their nomadic habits rendered this migratory mode of culture more destructive to the forests than would otherwise have been the case, as the numbers of the Karen population was small ; still, as the places best adapted for a stray patch of rice cultivation were not those where the best teak was to be found, the injury done was not very serious. The Government, therefore, had a clear field, unencumbered by the consideration of vested rights ; with the prophetic warnings of Dr. Wallich, borne out by the experience resulting from the saul forests of Hindostan, and corroborated by the result of the no-code system, which had replaced the Tippú code in the Malabar forests, there was nothing to prevent, and much to induce the Bengal Government to organize a suitable Forest Code, and a system of management that should preserve the state property from rapid exhaustion or utter destruction.

Government measures, however, afforded no indication that the dear-bought experience acquired in other parts of India, was to be turned to advantage on an occasion in every respect so favorable for its application. Dr. Wallich, whatever his merits as a botanist, was, evidently, not much of a practical timber-cutter, and he formed the ludicrous idea of proceeding

with an artillery sergeant and six pioneers, at the beginning of the monsoon, up the Attaran river, with the view of felling and floating to Moulmein a supply of teak timber, that was to be despatched to Calcutta, "in order to enable the Government to decide on the expediency of having, at Moulmein, 'such an establishment as that which he had recommended,' namely a Commissariat Timber Yard. This initiatory step was thoroughly impracticable, both as to means and season, and betrayed no great knowledge of wood-craft in Burmah. Although his experimental measures were laughable, Dr. Wallich's general views were sound; and Government, approving of his researches, so far acted on his suggestions, as to direct Mr. Maingy, the lately appointed Civil Commissioner of the Tenasserim provinces, to hold the forests as Government property, and to protect them from depredation or injury by individuals. These instructions being rather vague, Mr. Maingy solicited more specific orders for his guidance in the management and working of the forests. He was of opinion, that the forests were, by no means, so extensive as to be considered inexhaustible, that the plan of extending them would be difficult in a country over-run with elephants, and that, instead of incurring the expense of establishments for preserving them for the sole use of Government, the most advisable course would be "to issue licenses to private individuals, to cut timber, on 'condition of paying to Government a duty of ten or fifteen 'per cent. upon the value of the timber, when brought down 'for exportation, the value to be fixed by arbitration, and it 'being always optional with Government to take any portion 'of the timber at such valuation." Mr. Maingy also suggested that "a general and equal duty of a certain sum upon 'each tree cut, would be a good mode of preventing the small- 'er and less valuable trees from being cut down;" and that "a regulation also, confiscating all timber cut under specified 'dimensions, would tend to preserve the young trees." Whether it were that Government took alarm at the prospect of its conservancy of forests having to come into conflict with Mr. Maingy's ideal swarms of elephants, or that they doubted which were likely to prove the most destructive and unmanageable, the wild elephants or the license bearers, they put off decision under the convenient plea, "that the matter would 'be considered on the receipt of further information." Having thus shelved the matter satisfactorily for a while, they left Mr. Maingy to act on the original orders, under which he made the costly and very ill-managed experiment of sending a cargo of 511 logs of teak from Tavoy to Calcutta. What

led him to select Tavoy for the experiment, is not explained; it may have been dread of the elephants, or any other equally weighty reason, but whatever it was, Tavoy was manifestly a bad selection, and the cargo, when sold in Calcutta by public auction, instead of covering expenses, showed a loss on the transaction of about Rs. 250. After all, this was no great loss on a first and ill-conducted experiment, but the failure is stated to have induced the economical Government of the day to adopt Mr. Maingy's repeated suggestions, to throw open the forests to private individuals, on the terms of rules much in accordance with what we have stated above as Mr. Maingy's original proposals. He was accordingly authorized, in May, 1829, to carry this measure into effect; but as Government had, apparently, found themselves all adrift upon the subject, they were considerably inclined to afford the Commissioner every latitude, not only in departing from their own original instructions, based on Dr. Wallich's suggestions, but also in wandering from his own proposals, if he pleased; for licenses might be granted either on the terms of his rules of 1829, or with such modifications of them as he might deem it expedient to make. From this time,—the Government having thus evaded its own duty of definite legislation on the subject of the forests, and shifted the responsibility of doing so to the shoulders of the Commissioner,—uncontrolled felling of teak commenced; and we shall presently see that the work of destruction advanced with much the same rapidity and result as had been the case under somewhat analogous circumstances in the Malabar forests, when the no-code system succeeded Tippú's. Indeed, Mr. Maingy himself appears to have modified his views as to conservancy, and though, of course, still advocating his own mode of administering the forests, to have become aware that there was an imperative necessity for counteracting the unchecked felling and portage of timber; for, in 1833, he obtained the sanction of Government to entertain a conservancy establishment, consisting of one head man and eight or ten coolies, for the purpose of planting and rearing teak seedlings, and to see that the wood-cutters, who were employed in the forests by the holders of lehmats or licenses, felled the teak trees fairly, and did no damage to the forests. The establishment might, with equal propriety, so far as efficient performance of its avowed duty was concerned, have been entertained for the purpose of catching, and taming, and educating the herds of wild elephants which had formed Mr. Maingy's bug-bear in 1829, for a glance at the map of the Tenasserim provinces, or at that which accompanies the volume of Selections under notice, will

satisfy any one as to the ridiculous inadequacy of such a measure, and also as to the accuracy of a remark in a former No. of this *Review*, that "the conservancy establishment of one forester and eight or ten coolies was not well calculated efficiently to enforce any set of rules: and the revocation of permits for abuse of trust and destruction of forests could not well be enforced, when the forests were unvisited by any European functionaries, and no pains were taken to ascertain the conduct of the parties holding the permits." Matters, however, were permitted to remain in this state, (notwithstanding that "Mr. Blundell became alive to the necessity of affording some degree of protection to the long neglected forests, and in 1837 suggested a revocation of permits and the establishment of a conservancy department,") until 1841—that is, closely following the example set them by the Bombay Government, which had allowed, from 1822 to 1837, or fifteen years of unchecked license in its forests,—the Bengal Government, with like energy and vigilance, granted fifteen years of uncontrolled and unscrupulous destruction of forests, *i. e.*, from 1826 to 1841; in both cases, after a fifteen years' liberty of exhaustion, a pretence to grapple with the subject was made, and we must now proceed to examine how, on the part of both Governments, this was done. For this purpose we revert to the Malabar forests, which we left in the limbo of the Madras Revenue Board, where, after a refreshing nap of upwards of six years, the subject of their management was again mooted. The revival of the question originated, it must be observed, from foreign influence, and not from the spontaneous activity of the administrated functions of that valuable body, for it would be difficult to surmise the period of undisturbed repose, which the Malabar forest question might have enjoyed on the shelves of the Madras Revenue Board, had there been no movement from the side of the Resident of Travancore. When that gentleman, in September 1837, addressed the Madras Government respecting the forests in the province of Travancore, and led that Government to give the Board of Revenue a gentle flapper with regard to the letter of 22nd April, 1831; again, with exquisite and exemplary patience, requesting the Board's consideration of the general question of adopting measures for the security and improvement of the timber forests, the reply of the active Board, on the 26th October following,—"to the effect that the attention of the authorities on the Malabar coast had been especially directed to the subject, and that on receipt of information from them, the Board would not fail to submit their sentiments on the measures

' required for the preservation and improvement of the forests,'—must have proved singularly satisfactory to the Government. Close upon seven years had passed, during which time the forests were, of course, on the no-code diet of exhaustion; and yet the Board, after such a protracted spell of mature consideration, were still avowedly as far as ever from having arrived at any opinions, or formed any sentiments that they could state. In September, 1838, the Board was at length delivered of the report, on the hatching of which so much deliberation had taken place. The result of this tedious incubation was in no wise proportionate to the time that the operation had taken: the Board wrote, with the reports before them, of the Principal Collector of Malabar, of Mr. Monro, the Conservator of the Travancore forests, of Captain Cortlandt Taylor, of the Acting Principal Collector of Canara, and of the Collector of Rajahmundry; but as there was great variety of opinion among these gentlemen, the Board were puzzled. The Malabar Collector was a stickler for private rights, and objected to any interference, beyond the imposition of a heavy duty on all teak timber measuring under three candies. Mr. Monro, on the other hand, writing from his own personal observation, and the experience of nearly twenty years in the woods, was for the Travancore system, where the teak was considered the property of Government, and a conservator had always been employed for its preservation and improvement; pointing out that "the system of throwing open teak forests to all who wish to cut, or giving them to contractors, is in the highest degree *ruinous*. They cut indiscriminately all that comes in their way; any range of forest, however extensive, would be destroyed, if left to their tender mercies. They never think of planting, and all that such speculators calculate on, is present profit or loss, without troubling their heads about depriving future generations of the benefit *they now enjoy*. The teak forests in Malabar are, I am told, in this predicament, and if the British Government do not oblige them to plant, and also leave some large trees here and there for seed, this valuable tree will be extinct. There are two ranges of hills in our forests, that were formerly rented to a Parsi, and if the contract had not been taken from him before it was too late, he would not have left a teak tree standing. It will take forty or fifty years before the forests recover the effects of his avarice." Captain Taylor was for prohibiting the felling of trees below a certain girth in the Malabar forests, under direct penalty, or by a high additional duty. In the teak forests of Canara, the Collector reported that Government had assumed

the sovereignty of the forests, and that persons were prevented felling trees without permission. The Rajahmundry Collector reported that the forests were seventy miles beyond the extreme frontier of his district, and in the territory of the Nizam, and that he could therefore give but scant information. Amid these somewhat conflicting views, the Board came to the conclusion that, "with reference to the measures to be adopted
for the preservation and conservancy of the teak forests, that
interference, if at all necessary, should be exercised through
the channel of the revenue officers, and not through
a conservator, with distinct and independent authority.
That the Collector of Malabar might be required to issue
local orders, requiring all landholders to obtain permission
previous to the felling and indiscriminate cutting of timber, as
in Canara, and might be authorized to take such steps as seem-
ed necessary to prevent the cutting of small timber and un-
der-sized trees, with a view to the preservation of this valuable
product, as well as to secure a future supply by planting and
protecting young trees. Regarding the Rajahmundry forests
the Revenue Board said nothing."

Having tried one Board with such encouraging rapidity and success, it was evidently advisable to try another, so the question at this stage was referred to the Madras Military Board for their views, whilst the Resident at Travancore, and the principal Collector at Malabar, were again addressed. The Military Board deputed Lieut. Miller into Canara, there to collect information *de novo*.

Reports now began to be plentiful, for the Bombay Government was moving, upon the spur of their Commissary General; and in June, 1838, Captain Harris of the Indian Navy submitted a report on the Malabar forests. In the same month a report from Lieut. Thresher, and a letter from Mr. J. Fell, were added to the list; but as there was great diversity of opinion in these communications, the Bombay Government, instead of acting, had recourse to the usual expedient. Copies of the reports were forwarded to the Court of Directors, as also to the Government of Madras, for any suggestions or arrangements which that Government could make, calculated to assist in obtaining the required supplies of timber. The Madras Government, of course, made the whole overagain to the Revenue Board, who sagaciously pointed out to Government where Mr. Fell and Lieut. Thresher agreed or disagreed in their views, and concluded that, as both were against contracts, and for an agency, therefore, if a duly qualified agent were appointed to inspect personally, and report upon the extent and condition of the timber, much

Benefit might be anticipated from his labors; and that if the continuance of the then existing system was leading to the speedy exhaustion of the forests, and if, as Mr. Pell stated, the free trade in timber had been anything but a benefit to the country, no time should be lost in taking steps to reform a system which must ultimately prove so injurious to the interests of the province, in the destruction of one of its most valuable products.

It is clear that the Madras Government, although possessed of the wisdom of their Revenue Board, sublimated into the three preceding "ifs," were at a loss how to proceed, and might have continued lucubrating upon the responses of their oracle for an indefinite period, had not a step, taken by the Bombay Government, enabled them ostensibly to do something towards escaping out of this dilemma. The Government of Bombay, pressed by the Superintendent of the Indian Navy, Sir R. Oliver, had, at the end of January, 1839, deputed Lieut. Williams to the coast of Malabar, to secure a supply of timber for building steamers; and as a request was at the same time made, that the revenue authorities of the coast should be directed to render every assistance, the Madras Government seized the opportunity to suggest that Lieut. Williams should be also "entrusted with the duty of obtaining more accurate information respecting the state of the forests and their resources," avowing, that as regarded the Malabar forests and their proper management, nothing decisive towards that end had been done, in consequence of the limited nature of the information that had been supplied by the local officers on the coast, as well as of the difficulties which seemed to stand in the way of such improvement.

Mr. Farish, the Governor of Bombay, seemed inclined to deal with the subject in earnest, and on the 4th April, 1839, recorded a Minute, advocating the location permanently of an agent on the Malabar coast; a survey of forests, to distinguish Government from private property; and the purchase of the "royalty" or forest rights, where desirable, either on Captain Watson's plan of 1807-8, or in some other way. He defined what he meant by the term "royalty or forest rights," he disapproved of the high export duty proposed by Captain Taylor, with the view of making it the interest of proprietors to fell large, rather than small timber; and stated his opinion:—"We are now, in 1839, perceiving the effect of the retrograde movement of 1821, and it will not be till the approach of 1860, that the advantage of any changes now adopted will be well appreciated," and that, therefore, the measures to be adopted "must

' not be ephemeral or liable to be changed by future Governments ; they must be continued for at least thirty years, to show their effect, and any record of their success must be made with reference to that distant period."

Again, on the 25th June, 1839, Mr. Farish, having received reports from Lieut. Williams, recorded another Minute, in which he observed that the reports of Lieut. Williams established the error of the representations made by some of the Madras Collectors, that there was no deficiency of timber, and that the resources of the forests were as abundant as formerly ; and again urged the necessity of measures for the preservation and improvement of the forests, and considered that if no method of obtaining the royalty of the forests, as recommended in the Minute of the 4th June, could be devised, that the proposition should be adopted of purchasing trees on the ground from the proprietors, by payment of the fee per tree (called *kooty hanum*), provided the purchase were extensive, so as to embrace all exhausted teak tracts situated favorably for water carriage, and to include a right of controlling the management of the forest, in order that the burning of the jungle might be prevented, as it is in the Travancore forests, and measures adopted for planting young trees and preserving them during growth :—a judicious proposal.

The reports of Lieut. Williams and the Minutes of Mr. Farish being communicated to the Madras Government, the latter, nothing daunted by former experience, referred to its Revenue Board, for aid in forming a judgment on the measures to be adopted. The Revenue Board, of course, again fell back upon the Malabar Collector for information, who, in a report of the 12th September, 1839, under the heads of Royalty, Conservator, Re-opening of the Timber Forests, and Proposed Measures for preserving the Forests, went over the whole ground so repeatedly beaten over before by his predecessors. It was not to be expected that the Collector, Mr. Underwood, could add much that was new, or afford any really valuable additional information as to the condition of the forests ; but he shewed the result of what Mr. Farish had designated the retrograde movement of 1823, to have been very much what Mr. Monro and others had stated as always the case under similar circumstances, the promiscuous felling of trees, large and small, and the rapid exhaustion of the teak forests.

If there was a good deal of practical ingenuity in Mr. Farish's scheme for turning, by an exhaustive purchase, the fee per tree, or *kooty hanum* payments, into a mode of virtually obtaining from the proprietors the exercise of the "royalty" of large tracts, there was a still more refined ingenuity,

though of a hazy and metaphysical cast, in Mr. Underwood's views on the same subject. He considered the Government as being, in reality, the proprietors of only three forests, which had lapsed to them from failure of heirs, and that, whilst conservators had existed, their acts, and the system pursued by them, had received the support of the Bombay Government, "under the idea, that a large portion of the forests of Malabar was the undoubted property of the Company, whereas, in truth and fact, they did not possess the right of property in one." Yet he advocated the equity of Government assuming the royalty over all private forests, stating, that "they belong so far to Government, that their destruction cannot be permitted, as this would be an infringement of their rights ; and on the other hand they are *bona fide* the property of individuals, who are entitled to the entire profits to be derived from the timber ; this latter right has been freely exercised, so as nearly to extinguish the right of Government, and it is now high time that they should take prompt and immediate measures to preserve their interests from destruction, by the entire exhaustion of the forests." In para. 82, Mr. Underwood's views, and the grounds on which they are based, are still further detailed :—"*Re-opening of the timber trade.* The conservator and his establishment were withdrawn in April, 1823, and Mr. Underwood says, 'the first effect of withdrawal of the monopoly was the assumption, by private proprietors, of the right of property in the entire forests, and no sooner were they in possession of their rights, than the rage for teak timber was such, that it was felled promiscuously, and trees, small and large, cut down in every direction.' These proceedings were entirely subversive of the rights which Government had asserted in the proclamation of 1807, and yet Mr. Underwood could not discover that those rights had been relinquished by any subsequent public act or proclamation of the Government, or by the measures of the conservator. He did not think it was intended that liberty so unrestricted of felling timber and destroying saplings was meant to be conceded to the people ; and this opinion is confirmed in a great measure by the terms of the Government order for the abolition of the office of conservator, for it directed the collectors to submit such suggestions as might seem to them most proper for preserving the trees in the public forests, and for procuring supplies of timber for the public service, without encroaching on the rights or comforts of the people at large ; and in a later order of Government to the Board of Revenue, dated 17th October, 1823,

' it is laid down that, next to protecting the people from obstruction in the enjoyment of their property, and in the exercise of their prescriptive privileges, (which it is hoped has already been sufficiently provided for) the first great object is to secure the valuable property in the public forests, from fraudulent or wanton injury, and the second to render the produce of those forests available for useful purposes."

There is a good deal of confusion in this admission of a *bona-fide* private property of forests vested in the proprietors, an absolute negation of the right of property on the part of the Government in any one of these private forests, and yet as positive an assertion of a co-existent right of the Government in these forests, which they were entitled to preserve, and which the proprietors, in the exercise of their undisputed private rights, were destroying. The explanation of this apparent confusion of ideas would seem to be, that Mr. Underwood, with the fundamental idea that in India the Government is the lord of the soil, regarded the forest proprietors as merely usufructuaries of the forests, and not as having the fee simple of the tracts, with liberty to deal with them as they pleased. The measures he proposed were :—

1. The revival of the Company's right of royalty in the forests, by a proclamation.

2. The revival of the office of conservator, with abridged powers.

3. The purchase of tracts in exhausted forests, with a view to their re-plantation.

4. That Government should work their own forests, cutting down all timber, but teak, in order to re-plant them with teak.

5. The appointment of a joint-agent by the Governments of Bombay and Madras for the purchase of timber.

The Madras Board of Revenue objected to Mr. Farish's proposed survey of the forests, on the ground, that as Government could claim the proprietary right in no more than three forests in Palghaut, it would be a work of useless labor and expense. They agreed generally with Mr. Underwood's opinions, but objected to the third proposal, the purchase of tracts of forest lands, in which the teak had been totally exhausted, for the purpose of re-plantation. They raised the doubt, however, whether the right of royalty, after having been abandoned for a considerable period, could be legally revived by means of the proclamation which was recommended to be issued, and advised a reference to the legal authorities, and a careful definition of the term royalty, on the issue of a proclamation. Their own definition of the

term appears to have been "merely the right to prevent the indiscriminate felling of timber, and to enforce regulations for securing a perpetual supply of trees, and not to include any privilege of monopoly, pre-emption, or fixing of the price."

Between 1800 and 1840, the Court of Directors seem to have refrained from disturbing either themselves or their servants, by the issue of instructions on the forest question. For forty years the subject had been revolving in a circle of repeated references, from Government to Board, from Board to Collector, from Collector back again to Board, and Board to Government, varied occasionally by the addition of another element, a deputed officer, or an agent for purchase of timber, turned into a collector of information, and a reporter on forests; or the wheel of reference had got an extra spin by contact with the Bombay Government, whose maritime aspirations could never, however, succeed in effecting more than to cause another whirl of the reference machine. At length, however, after a somnolency of forty years, the Court awoke, and, in February, 1840, wrote to the Government of India. If our readers suppose that, after reviewing the conflicting reports of conservators, of special officers, of collectors, of Military and Revenue Boards, and of Governors of Madras and Bombay, the Great Council of Leadenhall-street, taking a comprehensive survey of the facts and information before them, sketched the form and details of a suitable enactment, laying down clear and specific principles for the guidance of the Supreme Government, they must, we fear, be disappointed. The wisdom of that august body could devise nothing more efficacious than again to set in motion the various circles of reference, still further complicating their motion, by bringing them into contact with that great wheel of references, the Government of India, which they charged with the duty of giving the whole subject *early* and attentive consideration, and of exercising their own discretion with regard to the instructions to be issued to the Local Governments. The emphasis on the word *early*, is our own, for, both retrospectively and prospectively, it was of humorous application. The Court does not seem to have been very lucid upon the moot point of "royalty," or, indeed, upon any other; but they gave one sound piece of advice, namely, that where a conservator was appointed, his position and powers should be strictly defined. We must allow them to speak for themselves.

"The forests of the districts of Palghaut, in Malabar, as well as others of considerable extent in Canara, are admitted to be public property, and if these are inadequate, or

' unfit to supply the demand of Government, a properly qualified person should be deputed to select other and more conveniently situated tracts, of which Government should endeavour to obtain the complete ownership. The Bombay Government, indeed, proposes to purchase merely the royalty or forest right, which is described in a Minute by Mr. Farish as the right to exercise the conservancy of the forests, and to forbid the felling of timber at a fixed rate, which it is proposed to secure to Government, and with the further obligation imposed on the proprietor to abstain from cutting teak wood, even for his own use, without permission. This would place Government nearly in the position of a perpetual lessee ; and, though all public purposes might thus be answered, room would be left for dissatisfaction on the part of the proprietor, who might naturally complain, if, in consequence of a rise of prices, he found himself compelled to dispose of the produce of his estate for less than the market rate. At the same time, there will be no advantage in purchasing more land than may appear sufficient to supply the average quantity of timber required for the public service. The forests not required for this purpose should still be left in the hands of the actual tenants, and we would suggest for your consideration, whether it might not be desirable to prevent material injury to the timber, by legislative enactment, forbidding the felling of teak trees under a certain size, except on payment of a high rate of duty.

" We shall merely express our anxious wish that, in the prosecution of the survey, if such a measure should appear necessary, and of the ulterior operations, the utmost care may be taken to avoid any infringement of the rights, or any unnecessary interference with the convenience, of private persons. It will, probably, be found expedient to commit the management of the Government forests to a conservator, and to subject him, in matters connected with the official duty, to the orders of the Government of Bombay ; but with the view of guarding against a recurrence of the evils which formerly flowed from the particular office, the conservator should, at the same time, be made responsible to the local authorities, and his powers should be so strictly defined as to afford no pretext for exceeding them."

As a matter of course, the Government of India referred to the Madras and Bombay Governments for information, suggestions, and advice. This, in due course, produced replies from Madras and Bombay, chiefly remarkable as containing a novel proposal by Mr. Conolly, the acting principal Collector

of Malabar, and a Minute, marked by Mr. Farish's earnest good sense, and the enlarged views with which he sought to embrace the subject. Mr. Conolly advocated a high rate of duty on under-sized trees, as the most effectual mode of preventing the total destruction of the private forests. After the virtual relinquishment of the royalty, in 1823, he was opposed to its re-assumption, as calculated to cause great and general discontent, and as unnecessary, if a prohibitory duty were established. He advocated the acquisition of private forests sufficient to supply the average quantity of timber required for the public service, by taking forests on the usual mortgage tenure of the country, and that by advancing nearly the value of the estate, the Government could secure themselves against any intrusion, as in Malabar mortgages were never foreclosed, but by a common tenure (kooty kanum), the proprietor, in case of reduction, being bound to pay for all improvements made by the mortgagee.

The Madras Board of Revenue approved of Mr. Conolly's proposal to rent forests, as a plan that "would effectually remove all difficulties that might arise from the assertion of the proprietary rights of the people, in opposition to the modified title of royalty, which it is proposed (alluding to Mr. Underwood's views) to revive on the part of Government, and that it would, at the same time, give the Government the entire command of the forests, enabling them to obtain an abundant supply of the best timber, and to nurse the forests." Mr. Farish also approved of the suggestion of Mr. Conolly, but pointed out that, unless the mortgages were for a certain period, there was a danger that the wealthy merchants of Bounbay, when the most valuable forests should have been preserved and carefully nursed by Government, would step in, and by redeeming the mortgages, secure for themselves all the advantages for which Government had labored and incurred expense. Mr. Farish's details, as to sites, planting, shelter, thinning and the like, need not be entered upon; but the following shows that he was sensible, that the characteristic of our rule and its bane, frequent changes of Government officers, was as applicable to the management of forests as it is to all other departments.

"The extensive planting and judicious rearing and care of young trees, and the prevention to felling those proper to be preserved to maturity, must, as far as possible, be made to depend on arrangements not liable to be affected by the fluctuating tenure of our local managers, or the frequent changes of the officers of Government itself. The Government must never forget that a period of not less than thirty years will

' elapse, before the beneficial effects of these contemplated improvements can be fully appreciated, and that their ultimate object is for years far more distant."

He recommended, therefore, the permanent appointment of a sub-conservator under the collector, the ex-officio conservator, with a salary progressively increasing with length of service: as also the appointment of an agent for the purchase of timber, who was to be distinct from the sub-conservator; and that from both these functionaries correct information, relative to their several charges, should be annually rendered. Looking "beyond Indian interests in this national question," Mr. Farish proposed that the Admiralty should be furnished with copies of these reports, justly considering that the subject was one in which the Royal Navy of Great Britain might be interested.

We cannot concur in all the views propounded by Mr. Farish, but it is agreeable to find a person in his position, with entire freedom from all clap-trap, and equivocal pseudo-liberal generalities, fairly, honestly, and earnestly grappling with the subject, in no narrow or short-sighted spirit, but with somewhat of a statesman's grasp of its magnitude and importance. The Minute of Lord Auckland, of the 29th August, 1840, forms a painful contrast. We subjoin its abstract in the words of para. 107 of the work under review :—

Pdra. 107.—“Upon these papers Lord Auckland wrote a Minute, dated 29th August, 1840, in which he expressed his approval, generally, of the measures that had been taken for the preservation, prospectively, of the Malabar teak forests, but objected to measures of prohibition, or to duties contrived, so as to discourage the felling of small trees, in the hope that the prospective supply of long timber would thus become more plentiful; and disapproved, in fact, of any minute interference by Government, as it would not be compatible with a good system of forest cultivation, in which saplings should be made to succeed to large trees, and should be thinned at intervals, until the large timber trees should, in the end, occupy their natural space.” He added, that “more good might be done with the Rajas and greater proprietors of woods, and they might, perhaps, be tied down to conditions of management, by the purchase of their growing trees, or upon other consideration, and be made to introduce a good system.” However, His Lordship put off the further consideration of the subject, until the receipt of more information from Bombay and Madras. A communication, in the terms of this Minute, was accordingly made to the Governments of Madras and Bombay, on the 2nd September, 1840.”

We have in vain endeavoured to arrive at the sense of this Minute. It approves generally of the measures taken for the preservation, prospectively, of the Malabar teak forests, yet eliminates prohibitory duties, which formed the main stay of the system under consideration, and disapproves of any minute interference by Government, which was exactly what Government was laboring to attain, by renting forests on mortgage tenures! After thus objecting to all that constituted the essence of the system, without offering to supply any remedy in lieu of those discarded, the general approval really amounted to nothing, but a civil exordium to an absolute disapproval. The theory, that a prohibitory duty was incompatible with a moderate and timely thinning of saplings, was an assumption contrary to reason and probability. Experience had proved that, without a check, private forests were worked up with a blind cupidity, heedless of all other considerations but present gain. A high rate of duty on under-sized trees would certainly, by acting on this cupidity, tend to control its mischievous action. The "perhaps" that more good might be done with the Rajas and greater proprietors of woods, by tying them down to conditions of management, by purchase of growing trees, or other considerations, was not only launching the whole question anew upon a sea of chances, and very improbable chances, but was also in absolute contradiction to the sentiment which abjured any minute interference on the part of Government, whilst the idea of looking to the introduction of a good system by Rajas and great proprietors was eminently Utopian, if it applied to the petty Rajas and proprietors of forests, against whose misuse of their rights there had been but one series of complaints for twenty years.

Mr. Farish had pointed out one danger attendant on renting private forests on the mortgage tenures of Malabar, but neither he nor the Government of India appear to have adverted to the fact, that the whole of Mr. Conolly's scheme was based on his own version of the mortgage custom of the country; so that Government were to suffer their "royalty" to pass into oblivion, and to have recourse to an expedient in lieu thereof, not based upon any written law, but upon Mr. Conolly's opinion of the custom of mortgage in that part of the country, an opinion from which other Collectors might differ, and which is not stated to have been affirmed by any higher authority. Nor do the proprietors themselves appear to have been at all eager, when Mr. Conolly consulted them on the subject of renting their forests to Government, to engage in the system of contracts which Mr. Conolly proposed.

Passing over sundry reports, minutes, and minor measures, as also the purchase, made by the Madras Government, of four private forests for 15,000 rupees, from an owner who held the forests in fee simple, and made them over to Government in perpetuity, we come to a despatch of the Court of Directors, of the 30th November, 1842, received by the Government of India in February, 1843. In this communication the Court arrived at the conclusion, that former accounts of the devastated condition of the Malabar forests were, by no means, exaggerated. They were also satisfied that the Government had little or no pretension to the proprietorship of the forests, that in the time of the ancient Rajas the forests were held as private property, that they were indeed seized by Tippú Sahib after his conquest of the country, and after its cession to the Company they were taken possession of on behalf of the latter; but, having for many years been abandoned to the original proprietors, the Court were of opinion that it would be no less unjust than impolitic to revive a claim to them, which seems never to have had any other foundation than Tippú's usurpation. They approved, therefore, of renting forests on the mortgage tenure system, but held that a tract of 260 square miles was larger than was requisite to furnish annually 6,000 candies, or about 2,000 trees for Government purposes. They advocated the contract system for felling and conveying the Government timber to the coast, the advantages of this course having been "remarkably illustrated by the history of the timber trade in the Tenasserim provinces. Since that trade has been in the hands of private persons, it has proved highly profitable, although burthened with a duty of 15 per cent., whereas, during the short period in which it was engrossed by Government, timber obtained by Government officers, from forests belonging to the state, seems not to have paid one-half of its expenses."

The Court, accordingly, desired the employment of the contract system, whenever it could be found practicable, and expressed their gratification at finding that no intention had been evinced of acting on the suggestions of Mr. Underwood, and the Board of Revenue at Madras, for re-asserting the right of Government to the conservancy of all forests, whether held by private persons, or made over to Government, in so far as to prevent the indiscriminate felling of trees, and to secure the planting of others in succession. Approving of the imposition of a duty on the exportation of teak wood, which should vary only according to the length of the logs, without any reference to their girth, as such a duty, while it would

tend to prevent young trees from being cut down expressly for sale, would not, like a tax on the felling of timber, present any obstacles to the clearing of land for cultivation, or to the thinning of plantations, neither would it subject the forest-holders to any interference from Government officers,—the Court, therefore, recommended the matter for the consideration of the Government of India.

From the language of the Court, it would seem, that they never clearly understood the principle at issue in this “royalty” controversy; Tippú’s usurpation of the ownership and sole profits of private forests was an arbitrary act, wholly distinct from a legitimate exercise of the “royalty,” which came to him by conquest with the lands;—and it was as ignorant and ill-considered an act, to adopt the Tippú Code in 1800, as it was tacitly to renounce, in 1843, under the error-suggestive misnomer of “ownership of forests,” the legitimate “royalty.” This amounted to a virtual abandonment of the fundamental principle on which the entire revenue system of India is based. Forest land is held, when held by private persons, subject to the same radical principle as cleared and cultivated soil. It is admirably laid down by Elphinstone; and as his statement of the agitated question of property in the soil is not only sound, but remarkably pertinent to the matter in hand, we offer no apology for quoting it:—“Property in land seems to consist ‘in the exclusive use and absolute disposal of the powers of ‘the soil in perpetuity, together with the right to alter or ‘destroy the soil itself, where such an operation is possible. ‘These privileges combined form the abstract idea of property, which does not represent any substance distinct from these elements. Now the king possesses the exclusive right ‘to a proportion only of the produce. This right is permanent, and the king can dispose of it at his pleasure; but he cannot interfere with the soil, or its produce, beyond this limit. ‘If he requires the land for buildings, roads, or other public purposes, he takes it as a magistrate, and ought to give compensation to his fellow share-holders, as he can, on emergency, seize carts, boats, &c., and can demolish houses in besieged towns, although, in those cases, he has no pretensions whatever to property.

“As much of the produce as comes into the hands of the land-holder, after the king’s proportion is provided, is his; and his power to dispose of his right to it for all future years is unrestrained. The tenant has what remains of the produce after the king’s proportion and the land-lord’s rent are paid; and this he enjoys in perpetuity, but the right is

' confined to himself and his heirs, and cannot be otherwise disposed of.

" Neither the land-holder nor the tenant can destroy, or even suspend, the use of the powers of the soil; a tenant forfeits his land when he fails to provide a crop, from which the other sharers may take their proportions; and a land-holder, guilty of the same default, would be temporarily superseded by a tenant of the community's, or the king's, and, after a certain long period, would be deprived of his right altogether.

" From all this, it is apparent, that where there are village communities, and permanent tenants, there is no perfect property in any of the sharers—where there are neither communities nor permanent tenants, the king, doubtless, is the full and complete proprietor: all subsequent rights are derived from his grant or lense. The extent of those grants varies with circumstances, but where they are given without reserve and in perpetuity, they constitute a perfect form of private property."

Now, in the case of teak forests, teak is the crop, and the land-holder or tenant of that kind of arboricultural soil has no more right to defraud Government of its share, by failing to provide that crop, and permitting forests to be annihilated, than have the land-holders and tenants of the ordinary agricultural soils. "Royalty," as applied to forests, is merely a concise term, expressive of the Government right to adopt such measures as may be necessary, both for the time being and prospectively, to secure that neither land-holder nor tenant defraud the Government of its share. To renounce this right, is to make a serious inroad upon the fundamental principle of the revenue of India, and an error, of which the ultimate consequences cannot be foreseen. It may be doubted whether Tip-pu's stretching the "royalty" to the extent of only allowing the forest-holders two fanams per tree, were really so prejudicial, even to the forest-holders themselves, as the entire abandonment of the "royalty." Both were grave errors, but the one preserved, while the other utterly destroyed, the coparcener property of ruler, land-holders, and tenants. To perpetuate and give deliberate sanction to this destructive error, does not seem wise, either with reference to the special case, or to the general principle which is involved. The rebound from one extreme to the other, encroaching in the one instance on the rights of the community, and on the other pusillanimously abandoning the rights of the state, does not constitute judicious administration. It must be observed, too, that even where jagirs are

granted in India, and the sovereign thus alienates his share in favor of the jagirdar, either during the life of the latter, or so long as there are heirs *ab stirpe* to the jagirdar, the sovereign does not, and cannot, part with the *dominium*. The jagirdar is merely what the civil law would call a usufructuary of the sovereign's share, and enjoys it with regard to forests, either in coparcenary with the subordinate land-holders and tenants, where there are such, or without partners, where these do not exist; but in either case, whether as sole holder or co-partner, the forests are held almost exactly on the terms of Articles 590 and 591 of the Civil Code. "Trees may be taken from part of the usufruct, provided the usufructuary follows the custom of the property in planting others in their stead. He derives the profit, conforming always to the terms and customs of former proprietors, of such part of the timber trees as have been put into regular falls, whether such falls take place periodically upon a certain extent of land, or consist of a certain quantity of trees taken indifferently over every part of the estate." Wanton deterioration of the jagir is a valid ground for resumption, exactly as the usufructuary may forfeit his usufruct for abuse, either by doing injury to the property or letting it perish.

In framing their Tariff, the Madras Government had, of course, to correct the error into which the Court of Directors had fallen, when they directed that the export duty should vary only according to the length of the logs, without any reference to their girth: Mr. Conolly observed that this was a mistake of the most vital importance, and quoted a letter from the timber agent, Captain Williams, in support of his opinion.

"To show the fallacy of fixing the duty with reference to length, instead of thickness, it is only necessary to mention, that the teak tree attains two-thirds of its extreme length before the bole acquires any considerable thickness. The small teak wood, sold under the denomination khial, or kyle, is generally twenty-five and thirty feet long, but not more than five or six inches in diameter, whereas, of the entire quantity of full-grown timber brought to Calicut, not an eighth part will average twenty-five feet in length. Trees that are only half grown, will produce longer timber than those that are full grown, because the branches are sound, and cut off clean, and so allow of the branchy portion of the bole being taken into the length. But in a full-grown tree, the branches are hollow, and the hollow runs into the trunk or bole of the tree; consequently, the length of a full-grown tree is only that portion contained between the root, and the

part where the superior branches commence. Though timber of thirty-five and forty feet in length (full-grown) is sometimes produced, it is but seldom, and not in greater proportion than one to five hundred timbers of twenty-five feet and under. Again, many long and large timbers grow in places whence they cannot be brought entire, owing to their great weight; these are now cut into short lengths, and are thus rendered capable of transport; these are the kinds of timber which I procure for, and are best suited to, the gun carriage manufactory, where length is no consideration, and great girth only is required. The imposition, therefore, of a heavy duty on such timber, merely because it were short, would be detrimental to the interests of Government.

The Tariff, by imposing a much higher rate of duty per candy or kol, on small timber, than upon that of larger growth, and by classing beams and planks of the fourth and fifth sorts, at a higher valuation than the fourth and fifth classes of timber from which they were cut, was supposed to fulfil all desired objects of a prohibitory check on the felling and cutting up of small timber. On the 7th October, 1843, the Government of India sanctioned the Tariff in the provinces of Malabar and Canara.

Having thus led the reader through a vicious circle of forest legislation, beginning with the hasty adoption of the Tippú Code, in 1800, passing on to the no-code system of 1823, thence to the reactionary tendencies of 1830, lulled into repose on the shelves of the Madras Revenue Board until 1837, we have, by carrying the reader through six more years of reports, minutes, and despatches, terminating in the approval of the mortgage tenure scheme, and the Tariff of 1843, shown how one of the Governments, after the fifteen years' liberty of exhaustion first allowed, making a pretence of grappling with the forest question, suffered six more years to elapse before any thing was done. This cursory review cannot have impressed any one with a very exalted idea of the administrative wisdom displayed on so really simple a matter. It is true that, in the case of the Malabar forests, correspondence was complicated by the circumstance of the subject being one on which both the Madras and the Bombay Governments had to inter-communicate and be consulted; but the action of the Bombay Government, spurred on by the necessities of its maritime establishments and commercial instincts, and guided in its operation by the honest, practical good sense of Mr. Farish, appears to have been persistently favorable to the more speedy adjustment of the forest question, and, therefore, to have been beneficial on the whole, rather than retardatory. No excuse can

therefore be founded on this consideration, and, though, doubtless, the political events of the period between 1837 and 1843, and the manner in which these engrossed the supreme Government, would be advanced by the apologists of the latter as sufficient to cover a multitude of sins in affairs of minor importance, they cannot very well be urged by the subordinate Presidencies, and least so by Madras.

Let us now return to the Tenasserim provinces, made such favorable mention of by the Court of Directors, in the despatch last cited, and taking up the thread of forest management where we left it, follow its course, as far as the work before us, and information long in our possession, will enable us. It was advisable to take the Malabar and the Tenasserim forests in the order we have taken them, because, as Lord Auckland referred, in 1838, to Madras for information on the management of the two great districts on the Western Coast of that Presidency, suspending decision on Mr. Blundell's proposals, until he should have before him the result of the experience on the Malabar Coast: unless the reader knew the precise value and character of that experience, he could not so well institute a comparison between the courses pursued in the Malabar and Tenasserim forests, and would not be in a position fully to appreciate the provident forethought and legislative and administrative ability displayed on either coast.

Merely calling attention to the palpable contradiction and absurdity of talking of "apparent private rights," when he had already clearly shown that none such existed, except upon permits "revocable at pleasure," and that therefore they necessarily terminated with the revocation of the permits,—also directing observation to the strange notion of "justice," which would saddle Government with the expense of giving compensation to the holders of such permits "for their outlay toward facilitating their operations in the forests," when it was clear, from his statements, that these holders of permits had grossly abused their privileges, and were exhausting the forests, and that if compensation were due to any one, it was due to Government from the "permit holders," who had enjoyed fifteen years' profit of the license to destroy the Government forests, with only such outlay of capital on the permit holders' part as was necessary to pay the wood-cutters and raft-men engaged in this work of wholesale spoliation,—we subjoin para. 42 and 43, showing Mr. Blundell's views and proposals:—

"42. In April following, 1837, a correspondence passed between Government and Mr. Blundell, on the subject of the conservation of the teak forests, and the means by which it could be

best effected. Mr. Blundell pointed out that, under the rules of 1829, parties who desired to cut timber, were allowed 'permits' or licenses to do so in certain localities, to the exclusion of all other cutters from these particular localities; care being taken to make it known to them, that the permit was revocable at pleasure: and though the transfer of these permits had been allowed, yet they had never been recognized as conveying aught but permission to cut timber in certain situations. So long as the timber was procured near the banks of the rivers, and while the market for it was in its infancy, this system answered very well; but as competition and the number of cutters increased, it created great confusion regarding boundaries, as no survey was made when licenses were granted, and it was impossible to have defined, correctly, any other boundary than the banks of the river. As parties went farther inland, they trenched on each other's imaginary boundaries; this caused disputes, and led eventually to suits in the Courts, which Mr. Blundell stated, 'we have not the means of deciding with any satisfaction, either to ourselves or to the litigant parties.' He added, 'the distance of the forests from the town, their great extent, and the want of an efficient conservator, invested with adequate powers to notice and decide on the spot all infringements of the rules framed, both for insuring proper timber being cut, and the preservation of the young trees, must lead, I fear, ere long, both to bring the Moulmein timber into bad repute, and to exhaust the forests, without providing for their renewal in after years.' To remedy these evils, Mr. Blundell suggested the appointment of some individual well acquainted with the state of the timber market in India and England, as at least a temporary conservator of the forests, with full powers to decide on the spot all cases of infringement of rules, and all suits relative to boundaries. This person should also be directed to draw up a report on the state of the forests, and, above all, on the eligibility of resuming the permits to cut, and re-constituting a monopoly. These measures, he thought, would ensure the cutting of only proper-sized timber of good quality, the preservation of the young trees, and the planting of others, and would also enable Government to send supplies of timber to her Majesty's building yards in England; but at the same time, Mr. Blundell very fairly stated, that one of the proposed measures involved 'the interference with apparent private rights accompanying the original permits to cut timber, sanctioned by eight years' adherence to the present system, and would lead to expense, which, in justice, must be incurred in compensating the holders of the original permits for their outlay.'

‘ towards facilitating their operations in the forests.’ He added, ‘ that if the monopoly of the forests was to be resumed, the port might be thrown open to foreign timber, either free of duty altogether, or with a much less duty attached to it than he had before recommended for each timber imported from Rangoon and other places ; and if it was resolved not to resume the monopoly, it would still be absolutely necessary to have a survey of the forests, in order to define boundaries, and to continue a conservator to preserve the forests, and provide for their renewal. Accordingly, Mr. Blundell recommended the following establishment for the sanction of Government :—

	Rs.
‘ One conservator of forests	500
‘ One native assistant, (the present man)	40
‘ Six peons, (to act also as boatmen,) at rupees 10 each	60
	<hr/>
Total, Rupees...	600

‘ For the office of conservator, Mr. Blundell recommended the appointment of a gentleman in the service of the Hon’ble Company, one who is strictly prohibited from engaging in trade, and who will, consequently, be above all suspicion of favoring his own interests. He also proposed to employ convict labor in forming nurseries, if these were to be established for renewing the forests.

‘ 43. With regard to the interference with ship-building speculations, which would attend the resumption of the monopoly, Mr. Blundell remarked, that this could be considered by the person who might be appointed to report on the forests ; but he was of opinion, that so long as Government would not require to send supplies of timber to England, the market might always be adequately supplied by the Government cutters, with all materials requisite for ship-building, and that contracts could be made with the conservator, by ship-builders, for their private supplies, which would, in no way, be affected by the Government demand.’

It was in consequence of these communications, that letters were addressed on the 27th June, 1838, to the Government of Madras, for information regarding the teak forests in that Presidency, whilst Mr. Blundell was, at the same time, told that Lord Auckland, not having sufficient materials before him, was unable to decide on the question of the appointment of a conservator of forests, and therefore called for further information upon every point connected with the teak forests, and their proposed management. Dr. Helfer’s reports were, however, at that time before Government, and the Doctor had been

specially charged with reporting on the resources of the Tenasserim provinces—among other facts, he had clearly announced, that the continuance of the system then in force would, in a short time, lead to the extirmination of all available teak forests and had strongly supported the views and recommendations of Mr. Blundell, urging that it could “not be expected that individuals, whose only care it is to render themselves independent in as short a time as possible, should care about the preservation of the forests; and experience has taught, that far more trees are destroyed than used.”

From 1838 to 1840, there is, what Mr. W. R. Baillie, the compiler, terms with official courtesy, “a great hiatus” in the records regarding teak forests, *i. e.*, *anglice*, nothing was done; but on the receipt of a despatch from the Court of Directors, having reference to the teak forests of Malabar, the Government of India again addressed the Madras and Bombay Governments, and received in reply a voluminous mass of papers.

The Government of India had now before them the results of the no-code period on the Malabar coast, and the unanimous opinion of all those engaged in futile lucubrations on the best mode of recovering the denuded forest tracts, upon the working of the no-code system:—all now concurred that no doubt could be entertained of the correctness of the Travancore conservator’s opinion already quoted, namely, that the system was in the highest degree *ruinous*. The Government of India had, moreover, the experience and the deliberate opinions of Mr. Blundell, their Commissioner, Dr. Helfer, their scientific reporter, and Captain Halsted, an intelligent naval officer, that the no-code system was proving equally *ruinous* in the Tenasserim teak forests, the unrestrained working of which was fast leading to their extirmination. Yet we read that this condition of affairs “convinced the Government of the necessity of an efficient system of conservancy, though the evil at that time did not seem to justify the resumption of the forests, or a re-constitution of the former monopoly, as had been recommended by Mr. Blundell.” This may, and doubtless will, surprise many of our readers, who may find it difficult to comprehend what degree of “evil” the Government was awaiting, before it felt justified in acting; short of that “extermination” of the teak forests, which would, of course, conclude the “permits” to cut teak, one would have imagined avowedly impending total denudation, about as great an “evil” as could exist in teak forest life; they may feel puzzled to understand why the Government should hesitate, as, after fifteen years’ license, every day would enhance the difficulty of hitting off, with precision,

the line of demarcation between total and fast approaching total annihilation of teak forests. Here, therefore, it may be advisable to observe—as likely to afford some clue to much that would otherwise be incomprehensible—that, in the course of these fifteen years of license, the timber trade had fallen mainly into the hands of some of the then leading agency houses of Calcutta ; that these houses, both collectively and individually, commanded great influence, not only in the official and mercantile communities of Calcutta, but also in the Court of Directors, and that, therefore, if the rights of Government were to be asserted, and the belly of the Tenasserim goose not to be allowed to be ripped up at once for its golden eggs, a very dominant interest must, in spite of its all-pervading influence and weight, be curbed, and made to respect the interests of the state as well as their own. The Government that did this, must be firm enough to control and subdue this influence, where working through official instruments ; and it must be bold enough to face the unpopularity and vituperation, which, in consequence of the hold this interest had at that time over the Calcutta Press, was sure to be heaped upon the Government and the officers to whom this duty might be entrusted. It has been shown that no doubts existed as to the “ royalty ” on the Tenasserim coast ; there were no Rajas, Zemindars, or ryots, to advance proprietary claims to forest rights ; the proprietary rights of the state were wholly incontestable, both by Burman and Tullain law, and by the law of conquest, which had given us large tracts of almost virgin forests, scarce ever traversed, but by a few wild Karens. There were none of those difficulties which beset the question of forests on the Malabar coast, in consequence of conflicting claims, and the vacillation of the views and practice of Government as to its “ royalty ” rights. But though, in these respects, free from the local embarrassments (self-imposed in a great measure) of the Madras Government and its Collectors, the measures of the Bengal Government were not distinguished by a particle more of energy or wisdom ; on the contrary, an influence, whose interest it was always to frustrate effective legislation or action on the forest question, on the plea of investigation and the collection of further information, betrayed Government into adopting a course not a whit more efficient than the no-code system of Madras, at the same time that it was accompanied with far more of pretension.

In an article on the Tenasserim provinces, in the fifteenth No. of this *Review*, we gave so condensed and correct a summary of the forest mismanagement, from 1841 to 1846 inclusive,

that it would be sufficient for our present purpose, simply to refer to the abstract of events and information given in pages 96 to 102 of that Article, and then to proceed to the consideration of the later measures, which the volume under review makes us acquainted with. This course would, in every respect, have been the most convenient; but as the statements in that Article are impugned in a few particulars by Mr. W. R. Baillie's summary, we are under the necessity of beating over a good deal of ground once before traversed, in order to correct Mr. Baillie's abstract, and to prevent our readers, when forming a judgment upon Government measures, from being misled by the volume of Selections where the latter is in error.

Government being, according to their own account, convinced of the necessity for an efficient system of conservancy, stumbled upon an expedient which, if inefficiency were their object, was admirably adapted to its fulfilment. Let any one, for a moment, consider what the duties of an executive officer, in the Department of Public Works, are; that he is not, as engineer officers in the Crown Colonies are, merely the planner of works and the supervisor to see that contractors carry them properly into execution, but that he is also a *bona fide* clerk of the works, whether as to the execution of new, or the maintaining in good repair and order of old works, and that, wherever there are cantonments with European troops, a multiplicity of details can only, according to rule, be dealt with by the executive officer himself in person—and then the amount of efficient conservancy of forests to be anticipated from the following arrangement, may be at once known.

" With this view, it was determined, in November, 1840, to appoint to the Department of Public Works, in the Tenasserim provinces, an executive officer, who, in addition to the duties of that department, instead of a separate conservator, should have the charge of the Government teak forests. A moderate establishment was to be allowed him for their preservation, and for regulating the cutting of timbers in those forests, where the Government could, without injustice, interfere with the grantees, and he was also to act as agent for providing timber for Government shipping purposes at Moulmein, or for consignment to the Presidencies. Captain Tremenheere, of the Bengal Engineers, was selected for this appointment, and the Military Board were desired to instruct him to complete a survey of the existing teak forests, and of places suitable for fresh plantations, and to report on the condition of the several forests, their capabilities under proper management, and the means of increasing and perpetuating the resources

' of the province, by the appropriation and plantation of new tracts. The Military Board were desired also to request Captain Tremenheere to submit a scheme for the supervision of the forests, consistently with the rights of the grantees, to define and note the boundaries of each existing grant, and, as far as possible, to discourage the practice of cutting up valuable timber into pieces."

These were pretty comprehensive instructions, but this sort of paper work flourishes in India—long instructions, longer reports, and nothing done, except to give additional instructions, receive still longer reports, and, probably, to undo what little had been done, may be taken as a definition of what is deemed administration in this paradise of procrastination. We do not remember that the classic pantheon has a divinity of this name; neither are we aware that she figures in Hindu mythology; she seems a purely Anglo-Indian creation, and should have her image, as the palladium of the Empire, under the dome of the palace of our Viceroys, in this our Indian Capital. Great is the goddess of the Anglo-Indian rulers and officials, and her sway, omnipotent in all departments, except those of civil salaries and annexation, makes torpor the characteristic of all the others. One would think, that not only did the Government monopolize the sale of all the opium, but its consumption too, and that very little of the pernicious drug, judging from the departmental lethargy, got further on its way to China than the Government godowns. It does not signify whether it be a question of forest laws and management, or anything else of greater or minor importance, motion consists either of a tardy revolution round a centre, without progress, or if movement be perceptible at all, the odds are just as much in favor of its being retrograde as progressive. The *constitutional* Government of India is so habitually the embodiment of procrastination, save in the matter of salaries and conquest, that a few miles of completed Railroad at Bombay, and a few miles of experimental Electric Telegraph at Calcutta, are surprising events, puffed and trumpeted by a grand chorus of acclamation! Let us trace, however, the kindly influences of the Calcutta Government-goddess upon the subject in hand.

Mr. Blundell, evidently calculating on the fixed habit and system of procrastination, indicated by Lord Auckland's opinion, that "it was doubtful whether it would be necessary or proper to give to such officer (a conservator) full and independent magisterial powers for the conservation of the forests, as was contemplated by Mr. Blundell," had, meanwhile, taken advan-

tage of so much as was tangible and clearly expressive of any definite mode of action ; and as the Governor-General had said that, "in the first instance, there should be rather a temporary reporter on the forests than a conservator of them on any permanent footing, and in this event, the first object would be to obtain a full account of the present state and management of the forests, their progress towards exhaustion, the encroachment of cultivation, or of mere grass jungles upon their site, and the measures which such officer would recommend for their preservation and improvement,"—Mr. Blundell had deputed Captain O'Brien to survey and report on the forests of the Attaran.

Two reporters were thus, at the same time, in the field, Captain Tremenheere and Captain O'Brien, whilst, at the same time Mr. Seppings, Captain Johnston, and Mr. Blundell were engaged in considering the question of the establishment of a naval dock-yard at Moulmein. It would be waste of time to follow Captains O'Brien and Tremenheere through their several routes and reports, which were merely confirmatory of the rapid exhaustion of such forests as were conveniently situated for the operations of felling and floating. It was clearly a no-code system, for "some forests had been completely worked out without any authority whatever"—other forests, held on "permits," had been neglected and abandoned from the difficulty of transporting timber—no capital had been expended, except where trees felled had been left on the ground,—and all three gentlemen, Captain Tremenheere, Captain O'Brien, and Mr. Seppings, concurred in their views, that no more licenses should be granted, and that Government should retain the forests which had escaped in their own hands. On the 2nd June, 1841, Mr. Blundell was desired to convey the thanks of Government to Captains O'Brien and Tremenheere, and Mr. Seppings, for the information supplied by them ; and Mr. Blundell was authorized, in conformity with Mr. Seppings' recommendations, to secure the site at Mapoon for forming a timber dépôt, and if it should be so resolved, for building ships. Mr. Blundell was also authorized to collect for Government all the timber he could get at moderate prices—he was to employ the Government elephants of the Commissariat Department in the collection and conveyance, and Captain O'Brien was to be retained for further exploring of forests in the Shan country.

Mr. Blundell, when forwarding the reports of these gentlemen, had submitted a set of rules, known as those of April, 1841. Upon the details of these rules, more especially those

in the 1st Section, it is not our purpose to remark; good or bad, whether in too much or too little detail, such as they were, these rules met with the approval of Government, but saddled with the very singular proviso, that the only penalty clause they contained should not be enforced. Lest our readers should suppose that we are inclined to be jocular, we quote para. 74. On the 8th September, 1841, the "rules, dated 12th April, 1841, were approved by Government, but Mr. Blundell was informed of the wish of Government not to disturb the occupancy of the grantees, unless on very strong grounds; he was, therefore, desired to report on the practical operation of the rules, before he proceeded to enforce the penalty clause, especially with reference to the prohibition against cutting up the timber, which, so far as it was designed to protect the Government duty, it was thought, would admit of relaxation, if that duty could be previously secured by any other arrangement. This object was eventually effected by calculating the duty on the cubic contents of each log, without reference to its size, and levying the *ad valorem* duty of fifteen per cent. on a commutation price of thirty rupees per ton of fifty cubic feet. It was decided, at the same time, (with reference to the proposed resumption of some land in Mapoon, which was in the occupancy of Aunnund Chunder Mittra, and was required to form the dépôt recommended by Mr. Seppings,) that the occupation was one of mere sufferance, and could be withdrawn at the pleasure of the public authorities."

Under these instructions it, of course, became necessary to promulgate the rules, (to report upon their practical operation being clearly impossible, unless they were generally known), and, accordingly, though not so stated in the volume before us, we have proof that this was done, for the rules may be found printed in the *Moulmein Almanac and Directory* of subsequent years. There does not appear, however, to have been any public notification, that the penalty clause of the rules was not to be enforced. We find them published to the world in the form subjoined, without a hint that the penalty clause was *pro-tempore* a sham, a sort of hollow turnip, with flaming eyes and mouth, to scare off bad boys, who might be soft and timid enough to be thus acted upon. The Commissioner of the Tenasserim provinces may have felt puzzled as to the propriety of making known this qualification of the rules; it was a delicate case of conscience; the practical operation of the rules was to be tested, and as they were intended to be remedial of gross abuse of forest privileges, their effect, evidently,

hinged on the dread inspired by the penalty clause; it was a case of the utmost perplexity, for it would not have been courteous to point out to the Governor-General, that his reservation insured the inefficiency of the rules, which had met with his approval, and that their publication, under such circumstances, was to expose the authority of the Commissioner to contempt and ridicule. Probably, Mr. Blundell argued, that as the penalty clause was not wiped out, but only he forbidden to carry it into execution, he might leave the community to make this discovery for themselves; and proceeded, therefore, to hang up his terrifying turnip with the most dignified composure and gravity. Unless we are mistaken, this is one of the most remarkable instances of forest legislation on record; an instance perfectly unique in the great orb of legal wisdom, and for which we might seek in vain for a parallel. That it bore fruit, and very curious fruit, we shall presently see.

RULES OF APRIL, 1841.—“Notice is hereby given, that from and after the first proximo, the permits, under which individuals are now allowed to fell teak trees within certain localities, will be cancelled and resumed, and such localities will be leased or farmed out to the same individuals, for a period of twenty years, under the following rules:—

“1. That the farmer keep up such an establishment for the preservation and working of the forest as may be considered necessary by the Government superintending officer, in order that the trees be felled without injury to those surrounding them, by having proper ropes, &c., for lowering them; and that the requisite assistance of men, elephants, trucks, carts, &c., be provided for removing them when felled.

“2. That no trees shall be killed or felled of a less girth or circumference than six feet, measured round the bark, ten feet from the ground.

“3. That every tree shall be killed by a broad rim of the bark, say one foot, being taken off round the trunk of the tree, near the root, at a height not exceeding two feet from the ground; and, further, by cutting to the spine, or through the hard wood, to prevent the least portion of sap from rising. This process is only to be done during the months of January, February and March, before the sap commences to rise, and at no other period of the year.

“4. That no tree shall be felled, till the expiration of, at least, two years from the period it has been killed, in the manner pointed out in rule 3.

“5. That every tree felled, be removed from the forest with the least possible delay.

" 6. That for every tree felled and removed, five young trees, of a proper size, shall be planted by the farmer, or by the Government, at the expense of the farmer.

" 7. That no tree shall be, on any account, cut up into short lengths (called loozars) but that every tree shall be removed as felled, and be brought in that state (after removing the branches) either down the river, to the town, or to saw-pits established in the forest.

" On proof of breach of any of the above rules, the locality, wherein such breach may have been effected, will be at once resumed by Government.

" The transfer of a lease of any forest, from one party to another, must be registered in the office from which the leases are issued, and no transfer will be valid without such registry.

" The duty on timber will continue to be levied as usual."

Sundry reports, of more or less value, but not particularly bearing upon the forest administration, may be passed over, until we arrive at one founded on the visits of Mr. Maling, the Assistant Surveyor, and Captain Tremenheere, to a part of the forests, for the purpose of ascertaining what degree of attention these rules had met with. The result is best given in the words of Mr. W. R. Baillie :—

" In all these grants, the forest rules, framed by Mr. Blundell, had been entirely disregarded." " The explanations given by the grantees were, chiefly, that they had been done by the native contractors, or before the promulgation of the forest rules, or from ignorance, or in consequence of the appearance of decay in the tree felled. In one case (Mr. Richardson's) that gentleman stated, that he had instituted a suit in the Commissioner's Court, against some of his native contractors, for damage sustained in his grant, by their violating the rules." The observation which follows these remarks, is a perfect *non-sequitur*. After perusing the abstract and quotations of details from reports, we should have said that it was patent that the grantees had made no endeavour, whatever, and no pretence, to attend to the rules, which were violated on every point. It is not stated what the decision of the Commissioner may have been in the case instituted by Mr. Richardson, but we may hope, that as the teeth of the rules had been extracted in so far as the European grantees were concerned, the poor native contractors, against whom Mr. Richardson proceeded, were not made to feel the fangs of the penalty-less law. " It was evident" (says Mr. W. R. Baillie) " however, that as far as the forests above noticed were concerned, the rules had been inoperative, notwithstanding that the grantees

' themselves had endeavoured to observe them. Captain Tremenheere attributed this to the character and habits of the Burmese timber cutters, who always followed their own practices, in killing and felling; and to the fact, that only the extreme penalty of immediate resumption of the grant was provided by the rules in question, for any breach of them, as it was generally believed by the natives, that the Government could not desire to have all the forests thus thrown on their own hands."

Then follows a series of rules, dated 11th July, 1842, with which Captain Tremenheere proposed to supersede those of April, 1841, having noticed, in detail, the practical effects of the clauses in the rules framed by Mr. Blundell, with the manner in which each had been disregarded. They appear more embarrassed with petty details, and interference checks impossible to carry out, than the rules of Mr. Blundell; nevertheless, they met with the approval of the Government of India, which sanctioned them, with the alterations, that five young trees should be planted in place of every tree felled, and that the Commissioner should exercise appellate jurisdiction in the case of fines, which the Superintendent of forests, invested with magisterial powers, was allowed to impose, to an amount not exceeding 500 Rupees.

These rules, however, though sanctioned, were never promulgated, for, in February, 1842, the orders of the Court of Directors were received, and as they did not approve of the rules which had been before framed by Capt. Tremenheere, the latter was again called upon to report upon the arrangements to be made for the general management of the forests. The views of the Court were as follows:—

"Para. 83. The Court reviewed the measures of the Government, and the local authorities, for the management of the teak forests, from the earliest period, down to Capt. Tremenheere's appointment, and expressed doubts as to whether the rules which had been framed by him would be sufficient to meet all the difficulties which had arisen. The Court were of opinion, that a proper survey of the forests was an indispensable preliminary to any new system; but they thought that it was scarcely possible for the conservator, with the aid of any establishment which could be allotted to him, to exercise so minute and searching a superintendence over such extensive forests, as would enable him to prevent the felling of other trees than those selected by himself, or to see that the business of planting was properly attended to. But even if such interference were practicable, the Court consi-

dered it would be still undesirable to commit, to any individual, powers so liable to abuse.

" *Para. 84.* In order to insure the preservation of the forests held by private persons, the Court were of opinion, that it should be the object of Government to make it the interest of those persons to take care of them, and to remove all temptation to injure them. For this object long leases should be granted, on condition of the payment of a per-cent-age on all timber felled, and under an obligation not to clear the land for cultivation, or to employ it for any other purposes, besides plantation. The felling of timber, below a certain size, should be strictly prohibited; and a modification of the duty might be made to check the wasteful practice of cutting up large timber. The farmer would, then, have an interest in the improvement of his forests, and would, probably, be inclined to plant of his own accord. Even if he neglected to do so, the self-sown plants, which he would no longer have any object in destroying, would, in most situations, insure, to some extent, the perpetuation of the forests. The Court also suggested that it should be made obligatory on the farmer to supply the places of the trees felled by him, by forming new nurseries, and carefully rearing the young plants, until they attained maturity; the Government should reserve to itself the right of forming nurseries at the farmer's expense, in the event of his failing to do so; and that the conservator should be allowed to exercise such a limited control over private forests, as would enable him to see that these conditions of the lease were observed. The conservator should also attend to the forests retained for the public service, and Government should reserve to itself a resource independent of the market, by selecting for itself, from the ungranted forests, such as were conveniently situated, and sufficiently extensive for all purposes, and placing them under proper management, so as to afford a constant supply of timber, both of teak and of other useful kinds indigenous in the country.

" *Para 85.* With regard to securing supplies of timber for the Royal Navy, or for building vessels of war at Moulmein, the Court stated that Lord Auckland's despatch of June, 1841, representing the advantages possessed by Moulmein for these purposes, had been laid before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, but that their Lordships had declined to recommend the employment of the timber of the Tenasserim provinces, on the ground that there was reason to think it possessed no desirable qualities. In consequence of this intimation, the Court desired the Government to abandon the

‘ idea of forming a building yard, or of collecting a stock of timber, at Moulmein, for shipment to Europe, and simply to confine their attention to supplying the demands of the Indian Governments, and to the preservation of the Tenasserim forests, in the manner that had been suggested.’

This produced orders for the discontinuance of forming the stock of timber ordered in June 1841; for retaining the unoccupied forests, to supply the wants of Government; for working them by contracts in preference to any other system; and for the report above mentioned.

Thus, it will be seen, notwithstanding the experience on the Malabar coast, and that on the Tenasserim coast, the Court could still talk of long leases, and the farmer having an interest in the improvement of his forests;—language which reads plausibly, but which, as applied to the Tenasserim provinces, was a palpable fallacy. In practice, it is well known, that even where there exists an hereditary nobility enjoying large entailed estates, and where there is every motive that the mind of man can conceive, as likely to actuate a present possessor to a wise use of his paternal estates, woods and forests have often enough fallen before present necessities, without much advertence to posterity or their rights. Weak as the argument of the Court is, in old countries, the most favourably circumstanced for its application, it is utterly invalid when applied to such a country as the Tenasserim provinces. The permit holders, grantees, or whatever was to be their designation, were well known; whether Calcutta agency houses, or mercantile men of minor pretensions and positions, present gain was, as every one knew, their sole object; and no one was better aware of this than the Court of Directors. None, too, could have more easily calculated the average existence of Calcutta agency houses between crash and crash—none knew, or ought to have known, better than themselves, the ephemeral life of such farmers as these; and that to talk of long leases, expecting them to plant, and the like, was to invest these parties with attributes of stability which, unfortunately, experience every five or six years negatives. The years 1847 and 1848 wound up several of these transitory farmers, and it was ridiculous to expect, from such establishments, keenly alive to the conditions of their existence, to act for the future and for posterity. The annals of the Insolvent Court form the best comment on the soundness of the views expressed in the Court’s despatch.

“ *Para. 89.* In September, 1844, a despatch was received from the Court of Directors, dated the 26th June, in which

' the Court noticed Captain Tremenheere's revised rules of 1842, quoted in paragraph 78 of this summary, and approved generally of them; but they objected to those clauses which required lease-holders to report, at the beginning of each season, the number of men and animals each proposed to employ in his forests, and placed restrictions in regard to the felling of trees.

" ' These regulations,' the Court remarked, ' must often prove exceedingly vexatious, and they can only be enforced by means of a number of petty officers invested with powers which ought not to be placed in such hands;' they, therefore, repeated their suggestion for giving long leases, on such conditions as would make it the interest of the lease-holders to preserve the forests, and maintain a succession of timber trees on their lands. The Court, at the same time, expressed their approval of the intention of Government to retain the ungranted forests in the Tenasserim provinces, for the supply of the wants of the public service."

As the prior orders of the Government had, as we have seen, prevented the rules referred to from being promulgated, these instructions only left the matter exactly where it was before; and as Government, when directing (18th March, 1844) the abolition of the duty which Major Broadfoot had levied on Shan and Martaban timber, had given instructions, with regard to Government forests, to continue levying rent from the lessees, for the privilege of felling trees under the rules of 1841, it is clear that both sets of Captain Tremenheere's proposed rules were deemed entirely quashed, and that those of April, 1841, were regarded as in force.

Between the instructions given in 1843 and 1846, there is, to use the official term of courtesy, an *hiatus* in the record of any Government measures for the administration of the forests; but there was no lack of local activity, for Captain Guthrie having succeeded Captain Tremenheere as Superintendent of forests, had turned his attention vigorously to this part of his charge. Although large extracts are given, in the volume before us, from Captain Guthrie's reports, what it was very essential to show is omitted, namely, the scandalous destruction of the forests, which he brought to the notice of the Government of Bengal, and which led him to take steps to check this shameless waste of valuable property, by bringing before himself, as Superintendent of forests, two of the worst cases. From page 98 of No. XV. of this *Review*, we can, however, supply the omission, and we will therefore repeat what is there stated:—" Captain Guthrie, after a thorough and most careful examination of

the forest, found that the permit-holders utterly neglected the forest rules in force, and were destroying the Government property in a shameful manner, utterly regardless of every consideration but present profit. Conservator and Superintendent of forests, he very properly brought the delinquents forward, and it happened that the first, or amongst the first, were the agents of the firm of Messrs. Cockerell and Co., in whose hands was the Megwa forest. No better instance of the manner in which the occupiers of Government forests fulfil their trusts could well have been brought forward, for the firm is one of the leading ones, having an establishment at Moulmein, and is known to be influential in Calcutta, and to stand high, and deservedly so, in general estimation; if from any, attention to conditions was to be expected, their agents might be anticipated to set an example. This did not prove to be the case, or, at any rate, the example set was a very bad one. In the course of ten hours, the officials of the forest department measured and recorded upwards of 600 under-sized trees killed, but not felled, and upwards of 260 under-sized trees felled, making, in all, above 860 under-sized trees killed. Besides the foregoing, 164 full-sized trees, ninety-three under-sized, and ninety-nine crooks (valuable in ship-building) were found burning !!

"The Megwa forest contained, at the time, about 2,400 growing teak trees, six feet girth and upwards, and 2,000 under that girth, besides the 2,000 killed and ninety-four felled under the proper girth. The rapid exhaustion of the forests, under such a mode of procedure, may be easily understood, as also the necessity for checking such waste of valuable public property.

"Captain Guthrie decided, that the Megwa forest should be resumed. In the meantime, Messrs. Cockerell and Co. appear to have addressed themselves to the Deputy-Governor of Bengal, Sir T. H. Maddock, complaining against the proceedings of Captain Guthrie, and to have succeeded in obtaining the transmission of an order to the Commissioner, directing him, on its receipt, to restore to Messrs. Cockerell and Co. the forest resumed.

"These instructions—passed, we may presume, in entire ignorance of the merits of the case, except, perhaps, as these might very naturally be represented by the firm, whose pecuniary interests were at stake—reached Captain Durand, after he had passed his decision on the appeal made to him by Messrs. Cockerell and Co., and had remitted the award,—having found, on examination of records, that the penalty

clause, the only one by which the rules promulgated for observance, could be enforced, had been temporarily suspended, though not abrogated, and that, therefore, neither the Commissioner nor the Superintendent of forests, had any power, whatever, to check the most unscrupulous violation of the rules nominally put forth for the preservation of the forests! In remitting the award, however, Captain Durand did not conceal his entire approval of the decision of Captain Guthrie, passed as it was, in ignorance of the trap undesignedly laid for him by this secret qualification of the publicly notified rules of 1841, and intimated that these rules would, in future, be enforced—naturally anticipating that it required but a clear statement of the facts of the case to insure immediate instructions to enforce, where in future requisite, the penalty clause.

"The holders of forests were but little pleased that such a warning should be given, and such an exposure made of the care and attention paid by them to their trust. The utter neglect of the Government stipulations was further well exemplified by the fact that, in consequence of Captain Durand's temporary removal of the prohibition on the working in the Thoongeen forests, 8,922 trees were brought from thence, out of which 4,497, that is, about two-thirds of the whole amount, were under-sized, and therefore ought, by rule, to have been confiscated. Captain Durand ordered that a small extra duty should be levied on this under-sized timber, remitting the extreme penalty of confiscation, but warning the public, that the ensuing season it would be enforced—a measure absolutely necessary on public grounds, and favorable to the real interests of the timber market, but disagreeable to the short-sighted selfishness of many private interests."

We are compelled to make this lengthy quotation, because para. 105 of Mr. W. R. Baillie's summary, which is subjoined, is in direct conflict with the statement above quoted :—

"Para. 105. Before Captain Guthrie submitted to Government his report above noticed, he had summarily resumed several forests under the penalty clause of the rules of April, 1841, for alleged breaches of those rules, by the felling of under-sized trees, and the failure to propagate others in their places. Against this measure, Cockerell and Co., and Mackey and Co., of Calcutta, (as the holders of extensive forest grants, some of which were resumed by Captain Guthrie) appealed to Government, when instructions were immediately given to the Commissioner,

' Captain Durand, to restore the sequestered grants to the holders, 'until Government are in possession of such information as will enable them to pass final orders' on the subject. But, notwithstanding this order, and the intimation of the opinion of Government on the subject, just previously made to Captain Durand, that it was not intended 'to monopolize the forests, or to restrain the free trader, or trench on the rights of grantees or lessees of the forest lands,'—Captain Guthrie, with the concurrence of Captain Durand, continued to enforce, rigidly, the penalty clauses of the rules of April, 1841. These proceedings elicited from the merchants of Moulmein (represented by a Committee, formed of Messrs. Creaton, Austin, Paterson and Maurel) a petition, dated 12th June, 1846, of appeal to the Commissioner. The petitioners complained of—

" 1. The resumption of occupied forests, under charge of breach of rules promulgated under date the 12th April, 1841.

" 2. The seizure of all wood brought down during the present season, under six feet in girth, and the subsequent levying a fine, equal in amount to the Government duty, on all such wood being released.

" 3. The prohibition to private parties from working timber out of the unoccupied forests, with the avowed intention of working all such forests on Government account.

" 4. The recent regulations issued by the Superintendent of forests, in regard to the collection of duty on, and the passing of wood at, the Government station of Kadoe.

" Captain Durand, however, upheld the measures of Captain Guthrie, and reported to Government his having done so. Upon this, the Government took into consideration the whole subject of forest management, and after briefly reviewing the history of the forests, from the time that they were thrown open to the public, by Mr. Maingy, in 1829, down to the period of Captain Guthrie's appointment, communicated the following observations and orders to Captain Durand."

Now, before either proceeding to compare this summary with our own, or to point out the nature of the statements contained in the letter of the 7th September, 1846, we shall subjoin an extract from the *Friend of India* of the 28th October, 1847, in order to point out the close coincidence between para. 105 and the extract in question. Commenting on the article in our No. XV., the *Friend of India* says:—

" The reviewer says, that these orders reached Captain Durand after he had passed his decision on the appeal made

‘ to him by Messrs. Cockerell and Co., and had remitted the award. With what surprise will he learn, that so far is this from having been the case, that Captain Durand, in announcing the remission of the award, in consequence of the orders of Government, stated that he certainly would have confirmed it, but for those orders! The reviewer further states, that it was remitted, because Captain Durand, on examination of the records, found that the penalty clause ‘had been temporarily suspended, though not abrogated,’ whereas the fact is, that the clause had not been suspended, because it had never been sanctioned, and that Captain Durand received the first intimation of the abeyance of that clause from the Bengal Government itself.”

Although it was in our power to have refuted, not only the foregoing animadversions on the article in No. XV. of this *Review*, but also the whole series of statements which the *Friend of India* paraded against it, it was not deemed worth while at the time. It was perfectly well known who supplied the *Friend of India* with his inaccurate information. We did not care to lay bare a malice and spite which could have recourse to deliberate falsehood, in order to blacken the good name of an officer absent in England at the time. Some of the leading men, civil and military, belonging to the service, had thanked us for publishing the article, and assured us, which we well knew to be the fact, that there was a verisimilitude pervading it which no jesuitical casuistry could shake, and that we had done a *public service* in boldly coming forward, to defend an injured and misrepresented man. The bureaucratic spirit, however, learns no lessons, takes no warnings, and seeks to stereotype its petty prejudices and hate, even at the expense of its veracity. Forbearance, under such circumstances, is synonymous with the countenance and encouragement of all that is mean and base; and now that, after the space of six years, we find exploded falsehood re-asserted, we feel it a duty to place the demi-official mis-statements of 1847, alongside of those given to the world in 1852, and after showing their common origin, shall proceed to prove their utter inaccuracy.

One thing now appears clearly, that the *Friend of India's* statements were in accordance with the information furnished him, and that the paternity of this attack is not chargeable upon him, however blameworthy he may be for lending his columns for the purpose of conveying it to the world.

It will be observed that both para. 105, and the extract from the *Friend*, coincide in giving the same verbal extracts

from the Secretary's official letters ; with this difference of course, that the *Friend of India* did not mark its quotation by inverted commas. It will also be noted, that both coincide in asserting that Captain Durand received the instructions of the Bengal Government (Sir T. H. Maddock) prior to having passed his decision on the appeal made to his Court by Messrs. Cockerell and Co. ; and that both found their statement upon Captain Durand's own acknowledgment of those orders from the then existing Government. It is seldom, that ostensibly distinct parties, like a press and a Secretariat, one of whom could not have access to official documents, without the sanction of the other, concur exactly in making the self-same quotations, and founding on them the self-same line of argument, unless there has been a coalition, and a pretty intimate one too. Let us now test the *bona fides* with which these parties acted towards an absent man.

Had the Bengal Secretariat been good enough to give the dates of the two Secretariat letters quoted in para. 105, the public would have been made aware of the fact, that the two letters in question were written, that containing the first quotation, "until the Government, &c.," on the 6th June, 1846, and that containing the second quotation, "to monopolize, &c.," on the 8th June, 1846. Further, had it been hinted that there was only one monthly steamer despatched to Moulmein, and that that steamer reached Moulmein on the 18th June on that occasion, the public would have naturally concluded, that both letters were delivered at Moulmein at the same time. Para. 105 notes that Messrs. Cockerell and Co. petitioned Government, but it omits the fact that Messrs. Cockerell and Co. appealed to Captain Durand, as Commissioner, on the 18th May, 1846. Had the Secretariat volume avowed that the appeal was heard on the 13th June, after having been twice deferred at the request of the appellant, on the 23rd May, and 5th June, and that Captain Durand's decision, remitting the award of Captain Guthrie, was passed on the 16th June, the public would have seen that Captain Durand's decision was given two days before, not after,—as stated by para. 105, and the *Friend of India*,—the receipt of the two letters from which both these commentators quote ; and knowing these things, the public and our readers would have been satisfied of our absolute correctness in the statement made in No. XV. of the *Review*, which is impugned by the Secretariat and the *Friend of India*. We were, indeed, surprised by the unblushing assertions of the newspaper, for the decision of an Appellate Court, publicly given out, on a certain

date, is a fact of such notoriety, that the attempt to falsify the date of such public delivery of a decision, can only be made, where distance and unfrequency of communication favor the chance of such a mis-statement passing uncontradicted ; but we were far more surprised to find a publication issued by the Bengal Secretariat, not, indeed, in a direct manner, but by implication, supporting the newspaper mis-representation.

There is, however, another point, on which, had the Bengal Secretariat shown a little more candour in this publication, it would have lost nothing in general estimation ; but bureaucratic animosity is always blind, and usually finishes, as in this instance, by cutting its own throat. The *Friend of India*,—when it states “that Captain Durand, in announcing the remission ‘of the award, in consequence of the orders of Government,’ stated that he would certainly have confirmed it, but for ‘those orders !’”—evidently would have it inferred that the words of that officer are quoted, and quoted correctly ; and para. 105, which drops any advertence to the remission of the award, and asserts that Captain Durand, notwithstanding the orders he had received, continued to enforce, rigidly, the penalty clauses of the rules of April, 1841, upheld the measures of Captain Guthrie, and reported to Government his having done so, leaves the same to be inferred, though in a more involved manner, and with greater lubricity of purpose. Now, had the *Friend of India*, when quoting, or the Bengal Secretariat, when mystifying, borne in mind what was apparent to every body else, namely, that we were minutely informed, and that any tampering, however ingenious, either with dates or language, would inevitably meet with exposure, they would scarcely have hazarded the course they have pursued.

The letters from the Bengal Secretariat, of the 6th and 8th June, delivered on the 18th June, were replied to on the same day.* The Government letter of the 6th June called for a full report upon the circumstances under which Captain Guthrie had acted ; and, in compliance with the request of Messrs. Cockerell and Co., ordered, that on receipt of the letter, the resumed forest should be restored to them. Captain Durand’s reply was, that he would submit the report called for as soon as possible, but in the mean time, he at once informed the Secretary, that the case of Messrs. Cockerell and Co. having been brought in appeal before him, the award was remitted on the 16th instant,

* The Blue Book on “Teak Forests (India)” contains the Government letter of the 6th June, and Captain Durand’s replies of the 18th June, both to it, and that of the 8th. But the letter of the 8th is omitted. Captain Durand’s decision of the 16th June is given at length.

though, had he not been in possession of the orders of Government, and the expression of its views, in a manner which the Superintendent of forests was not, the wanton destruction of forests, and most unscrupulous violation of rules brought to light by Captain Guthrie, would have made Captain Durand deem it his duty to uphold his decree.

From this reply, it would have been clear to ordinary minds, aware as the Bengal Secretariat necessarily were of the date of the steamer's arrival on the 18th June, and of the short stay prescribed for it at Moulmein, that the appeal had been made, and the decision on the appeal passed, two days before the arrival of the letter, ordering what had already been decreed, and that, therefore, the orders of Government which the Commissioner was in possession of, when he passed his decision, remitting the award, and which Captain Guthrie was ignorant of, when he decided, could not be those of the 6th June, which, at the time of Captain Guthrie's decision, on the 5th May, a month before, and Captain Durand's, on the 16th June, had not been received at Moulmein. To seek to apply Captain Durand's language to orders not before him, when he decided the case, is a palpable perversion of its meaning, as elucidated by the context; and were we to adopt this mode of quoting the words of writers, without reference to dates, facts, or context, there would be no difficulty whatever in proving, as in this instance, from a man's own words, the contrary of what he stated. The device is not new, but we have seldom seen it officially resorted to, in a more unpardonable manner than on the present occasion, for the Parliamentary Blue Book shows that, in reply to the other letter quoted (that of the 8th June) Captain Durand, on the same date, the 18th June, informed Government that he was about to address them at length on the forest question; and, in fact, did so, combining a report on the case of Messrs. Cockerell and Co., with a report on the forest question generally, which it illustrated; and in this report he clearly informed the Government, that the decision remitting the award had been passed before the receipt of the orders, summarily putting a stop to proceedings, at the request of Messrs. Cockerell and Co., and ordering the restoration of the resumed forest. This report is dated the 24th June, and was in the hand of the Deputy-Governor, Sir T. H. Maddock, when the letter of the 7th September, 1846, was penned—for the latter is in reply thereto. We repeat, therefore, that these mis-statements are unpardonable, for they were originally made and promulgated by a journal supplied with its information by a Government official, and after the space

of six years again repeated "by authority," almost *totidem verbis*, without a possibility of the error being accidental, Captain Durand's report having precluded the shade of an excuse for such gross and malevolent mis-statements.

We consider para. 105 a curiosity, as containing, in short space, a greater number of mis-representations and sinister omissions than we ever recollect counting up, as occurring within such moderate limits. They are as follows—mis-representations:—

First.—Captain Guthrie's award was *remitted*, and the penalty clause *not enforced*.

Second.—This was done *before*, and not *after*, the receipt of the two letters quoted.

Third.—Both the letters quoted came on the same day to hand, and the word "previously," as applied to their reaching Captain Durand, is incorrect.

Fourth.—The word "previously," as applied to the issue of the letter of the 8th June, before that of the 6th June, is incorrect.

Fifth.—The rules of April, 1841, only contained one penalty clause, and therefore, as in the only case, Cockerell and Co.'s, in which Captain Guthrie had sought to enforce it, the award was remitted: the assertion that the penalty clause continued to be rigidly enforced, is a mis-statement, in its general, as well as in its special, application to Cockerell and Co.

Sixth.—The petition, dated 12th June, 1846, was *not* elicited by the rigid enforcement, with the concurrence of Captain Durand, of the penalty clause, for it was given in before Captain Durand had passed his decision on the appeal case, and, therefore, before the petitioners knew whether the resumption would be upheld, or as was the case, the award remitted.

Seventh.—The orders of the Government, quoted from the letter of the 6th June, referred simply and singly to Messrs. Cockerell and Co., and did not refer to Messrs. Mackey and Co.

Eighth.—The order was, to restore the grant in question, to Messrs. Cockerell and Co., and not to restore sequestered grants to the holders, which would imply that many had been sequestered.

Ninth.—The appeal was against the resumption of the Megwa forest,—one, and not some, which would signify more than one.

Tenth.—It is left to be inferred that the letter, from which the quotation "to monopolize, &c." is taken, had respect to the general question of resumption of grants, and restraint on the free trader, whereas it referred to a wholly different mat-

ter, namely, whether the orders of the Court of Directors to reserve forests for the supply of the public service, were to be attended to or not.

The omissions are :—*First.*—All note of dates of letters, or dates of receipt, so that there ensues a convenient confusion.

Second.—Any note of the dates of Captain Guthrie's decision, or of the Commissioner's.

Third.—A blending of things and persons wholly distinct, without hint of such being done.

Fourth.—Entire suppression of the orders of the Supreme Government, on the subject of purchasing timber for the Admiralty—and of the measures consequent thereon.

Fifth.—No note of discrepancy of orders of the Supreme and of the Bengal Government.

Having thus dealt with para. 105, we might have left the long extract from the Secretary's letter, dated 7th September, 1846, without notice, were it not that it, too, challenges remark, from its barefaced distortion of facts, and the *mala fides* which puts forth its head in every paragraph. We are not about to enter upon any longer analysis of this remarkable production, than may be sufficient to prove its worthlessness, whether viewed as an endeavour to cloak the mismanagements of the forest question by the Bengal Government, or as a specious attempt to accumulate, upon the heads of the Superintendent, Captain Guthrie, and the Commissioner, Captain Durand, responsibility for a state of things for which the Bengal Government itself was alone accountable. We cannot but think, that before concluding our brief remarks on this letter, both Captain Guthrie and Captain Durand will feel themselves under a debt of no ordinary gratitude to this volume of Selections, which, at the same time that it gives publicity to mis-statements, affords, unintentionally though it may be, a complete antidote to them.

“Para. 24. In the meantime, Captain Guthrie has not been slow to exercise the powers which he conceives himself to possess, for the punishment of these instances of neglect on the part of the grantees, and he has, in several cases, summarily resumed important grants under the penalty clause of the rules of April, 1841, for breach of those rules, by felling under-sized trees; and these proceedings you (Capt. Durand) appear to have approved and affirmed.

“Para. 25. It will have been observed from the foregoing statement, that no confirmation of the penalty clause can be traced in the records of Government. If, therefore, any confirmation be forthcoming in the office of the Superintendent

of forests, a copy should be transmitted for His Honor's satisfaction. In the meantime, it would seem that Captain Guthrie has been acting under a rule of no authority.

"Para. 26. But even if the rule had ever been confirmed and authorized by Government, it is by no means clear, that its purport would have given to the Superintendent of forests any power to enforce so serious a penalty ; he might possibly have reported the facts, and made his recommendations, but the infliction of the penalty would have lain with much higher authority.

Para. 27. Independently, however, of these considerations, the enforcement of the penalty of forfeiture of grants for breach of rules, which have been avowedly and notoriously a dead letter, ever since they were enacted, and which the Government has never shown any intention, or given any notice of enforcing, is a measure altogether oppressive and inequitable; two mercantile houses of this city have, as you are aware, appealed to Government against these proceedings, and Government have been directed to suspend them for the present. One of the houses thus summarily stopped in their works, and deprived of their grants of forest locations, is known to be under a heavy contract with Her Majesty's Government, for the supply of timber for naval purposes, and the consequences to them must be very serious."

On perusing these paragraphs, which were addressed to the Commissioner, the first circumstance, which cannot fail of striking the reader, is the close correspondence between this official despatch of the 7th September, and the extract from the *Friend of India* of the 28th October: the assertions, the line of argument, and the views are identical. From the rules of Government, as to the communication by its servants of official documents, without its permission, to the press, it is clear here, that, with the view of attacking Captain Durand, that permission must have been granted, and not over-scrupulously made use of.

The first thing which occurs to the mind, on perusing these paragraphs, is, that if the Superintendent of forests and his establishment were intended by the Government to be the cyphers which, we are here told, they were considered, what on earth was the use of the appointment being made ? It was upon the Government's own showing a farce and a job, and all the surveys, reports, opinions, and calls for the result of the experience at Madras and Bombay, were fudge and pretence.

That which next strikes us, as utterly inexplicable, is the

allegation contained in para. 24, which implies that several cases of resumed grants had come in appeal before the Commissioner, and that he had "approved and affirmed" the decrees of the Superintendent; whereas, only one case had, as we have shewn, been appealed to the Commissioner, and that in that one case of Messrs. Cockerell and Co., the award had been remitted, was notorious, and known to the Bengal Government, when it suffered this paragraph to be penned, and signed by its Secretary, Mr. Halliday.

The next thing observable is, that throughout these paragraphs, not only does the Bengal Government drop the fact of the remission of the award, and the grounds on which that remission was made by Captain Durand, about three months before their letter was written, giving no indication that the remission in question necessarily put a stop to further proceedings by the Superintendent; but it seeks to confound the approval by Captain Durand, of Captain Guthrie's investigations in the discharge of his duty, and his concurrence in the general administrative recommendations submitted to the Government for its consideration and orders, with the approval and affirmation of the enforcement of a penalty, which, on the contrary, had been remitted by the Commissioner, in his capacity of Appellate Judge,—thus confounding two perfectly distinct functions, namely, those of judge, and those of commentator upon the opinions of the Superintendent, on points of general administration, on which it was desirable to obtain specific instructions from the Deputy-Governor:—in fact, confounding the Commissioner's functions as Judge, with his functions as legislative adviser on the forest question. To have candidly stated that, in his capacity as Appellate Judge, the Commissioner had, finding the penalty clause suspended, given a strictly legal decision, which remitted the award given in the case of Cockerell and Co., and thereby stayed resumption of grants, though not the execution of the Superintendent's duties, would have been incompatible with the penning of the paragraphs above quoted, by which blame was cast on the Commissioner, for doing that which he had not done, and for not doing that which he had done, whilst it would also have set forth the absurdity of writing *Para. 25*; the Commissioner having himself brought to the notice of the Deputy-Governor, that the rule, under its temporary suspension by Lord Auckland, was of no authority; but this evidently could not have answered the object in view.

The next thing which strikes the reader as a singular avowal to have emanated from a Deputy-Governor, is the statement,

that the rules had been avowedly and notoriously a dead letter ever since they were enacted, whereas Government had itself repeatedly called for reports on the operation of its emasculated rules, and had, as has been shewn, invested the superintendent with magisterial powers, to inflict fines not exceeding Rs. 500. (Para. 81, page 118.) This assertion of para. 27 is still more surprising, when it is noted that, although the Secretary could overlook this indubitable proof of an intention on the part of Government to enforce penalties and rules, he could, when it suited his purpose, advert, as in para. 32, to the expression of their views which Government had made, when granting these said magisterial powers, and which views are given in para. 82 of Mr. W. R. Baillie's summary, where he notes that "the Government appear to have had it in contemplation, and to have expressed the intention, in the event of granting leases for unoccupied forests, to limit such new leases to twenty years, renewable on the expiration of that time, conditionally on the lessee's strict observance of the rules. The grant of leases for unoccupied forests was, in the meanwhile, prohibited, pending the receipt of orders from the Court of Directors, on the reference which had been made to them by Lord Auckland."

But here, again, the disingenuous manner in which para. 32 alludes to this intention, contingent upon a sanction which was withheld by the Court of Directors, cannot be passed over without observation, and, in order to enable our readers to judge for themselves, we must subjoin paras. 30—33 :—

"Para. 30. In regard to future management, the Deputy-Governor conceives the only sound principle to have been suggested in the few but apt words already quoted from the despatch of the Honorable Court, dated 30th September, 1842, viz., that no conservator, with the aid of any establishment, could maintain a proper degree of check over such extensive tracts; that even if it were practicable, it would be objectionable to commit such powers to one individual, and that the best and cheapest way of effecting the object, would be to make it the interest of persons to take care of their grants, by giving them long leases.

"Para. 31. This appears to the Deputy-Governor to be a perfectly just view of the subject. Rules full of petty detail, teaching merchants and traders how to carry on the smallest details of their business, even to ropes, and trucks, and carts, and prescribing small and meddling instructions, to be enforced under heavy penalties, and this, too, throughout vast, distant, solitary, and scarcely accessible forest tracts, by one con-

' servator or superintendent, with a few native subordinates (' for it would not pay to have a large establishment) must, in ' the nature of things, fail of any good. The rules would not ' be observed, their infraction could not be checked, and the ' penalties could not be enforced.

" *Para. 32.* On the other hand, the measures taken with the grantees have been such as to ensure waste and improvidence. They have been sent at one time with permits to fell timber, on given localities, revocable at will; at another, they have received grants of undefined and disputed tracts for no specified term, but dependent on the pleasure of the authorities for the time being. Even the desire of Government to grant leases for twenty years, as expressed in 1843, seems not to have been carried into effect; but, on the contrary, Captain Guthrie, as superintendent, and yourself, as Commissioner, have taken pains to impress upon the grantees, that their rights may be resumed at any time, and they have, indeed, been practically taught that resumption may occasionally be very suddenly and very summarily put in execution against them.

" *Para. 33.* It would be strange, indeed, if, under such circumstances as these, the grantees were found carefully guarding the Government interests in the forests, or establishing nurseries of young trees, or sparing to cut down whatever might soonest suit their purposes. The grantees have been obliged, by their position, to make the most they could, in the shortest time, out of a very precarious and uncertain tenure, and their conduct has only been what might have been expected from them."

Here it will be at once seen, from para. 82, page 119, quoted above, that it had never been optional, either with the Commissioner, in 1843, or the one in 1846, to act in conformity with the contingent intentions of the Government, the Government having prohibited action on these instructions, prior to the sanction of the Court of Directors. Moreover, it will be remarked, that this contemplated measure of the Government had reference to the grant of leases for unoccupied forests, and not to forests already occupied by grantees or lessees. The use made of this advertence to the "desire of Government," conveys, therefore, adroitly enough, the fallacies, first, that the instructions of Government were such as the local authorities were at liberty to act upon; secondly, that they had reference to occupied forests, instead, as was the case, of referring to unoccupied or reserved forests; thirdly, that inattention to these desires of the Government, on the part of the local authorities, had caused the waste and devastation of

the forests by the grantees; and, fourthly, that the superintendent, Captain Guthrie, and the Commissioner, Captain Durand, were peculiarly obnoxious to the charge of not having carried into effect the views of Government as to twenty years' leases, and of having, by the summary resumption of forest grants, furnished a sufficient apology for the cupidity of the grantees, whose conduct, under such circumstances, had only been what might have been expected from them. These fallacies were, of course, intended to defend the Bengal Government against the charge of systematic mismanagement of the forests, and to cast the blame of neglect of the interests of Government, and of the conservancy of the forests, altogether on the local authorities, whose measures are handled, as if the Supreme Government and the Bengal Government were entirely innocent of having given their deliberate approval to the rules which form the subject of animadversion, rules and measures calculated "to ensure waste and improvidence," and exonerating, in the opinion of the writer of this letter, the grantees, for a flagrant neglect of every consideration, but that of their own present interests. At the same time, these fallacies were so arrayed, as to accumulate upon the Superintendent and the Commissioner, not only the mismanagement of their predecessors in office, but more particularly the neglect of compliance with the views of Government, in the matter of issuing twenty years' leases to grantees of occupied forests, and for taking away inducements from the grantees, to observe the conditions on which they obtained their permits, grants, or leases. A more clumsy, or a more unworthy device for attempting to shuffle off, from the shoulders of the Supreme and Bengal Governments, the consequences of their own vacillating imbecility, could scarcely have been concocted. Fortunately, the bungling is too transparent, and the publication of the volume before us sets at rest any question that might be raised as to the real value of this official attempt to dupe the public; for the volume lays bare the real authors of the no-code system on the Tenasserim coast, and effectually exculpates the local authorities, from the time of Mr. Blundell, who first moved for rules and resumption of forests. Whilst the endeavour to cloak the gubernatorial derelictions of duty, by the spiteful sacrifice of the reputations of the two officers, who, as Superintendent of forests and Commissioner, honestly did their own duty, relying on the Bengal Government to do theirs, is defeated as much by the revelations of the publication under review, as by its reticences. The Bengal

Secretariat were egregiously mistaken, if they thought that such a course would stand the probe of scrutiny, and impose upon those who have long watched its proceedings on this question of forest management and its associated subjects.

Merely noting that the Cockerell and Co. contract with the Admiralty appears wholly unsupported by any official statements, except the assumptions of the *Friend of India's* informant, and the despatch of the 7th September, 1846, and that the instructions of the Supreme Government themselves, in communication with the Admiralty, through the home authorities, when ordering the purchase of timber at Moulmein for the navy, in the manner set forth in No. XV. of the *Review*, never adverted to the existence of any such contract, which, had it existed, must certainly have been known to them; we must be permitted to doubt the fact thus confidently asserted, which, however, is one not at all to the purpose for which it is adduced, as every one acquainted with the Moulmein timber market, and the abundant supply of timber at the period in question, must have been thoroughly well aware of the fact, that the nominal resumption, by Captain Guthrie, of Messrs. Cockerell and Co.'s Megwa forest, from the 7th May to the 16th June, when the Commissioner's decree remitted the award, and cancelled the paper resumption in question, could have had no effect whatever in preventing that firm from fulfilling its engagements, had they existed, and that to talk of the consequences of the temporary resumption being to the firm "very serious," betrayed either entire ignorance, or the intention of conveying false impressions.

We come now to the "obvious remedies," which the sagacity of this despatch had in store for the Tenasserim teak forests. Not wishing to be suspected of mis-representing the nature and extent of this sagacity, we must permit it to speak for itself:—

"Para. 34. The obvious remedy is to do as the Court recommend, viz., make the interests of the grantees correspond, as far as possible, with the interest of Government.

"Para. 35. The interest of Government is, that as much timber as possible should be brought to market, without injuring the forests or destroying their future productiveness. To make the interests of the grantee identical with these, he should have a permanent property in the forests, and no further restrictions should be placed on him, than, that the grant should become liable to the payment of land revenue, if ever it is denuded of trees, and brought under the plough. The property conveyed by the grant should include not teak

only, but all trees and products of the forest. The duty levied in Moulmein should be heavier in proportion as the logs are below a given size, and all below a certain girth; to be fixed as a minimum, should be confiscated.

“Para. 36. The Honorable Court have, in the case of the grants at *Mergui*, claimed by the Countess Nostitz, and Baron des Granges, sanctioned leases for a term of ninety-nine years, and the Deputy-Governor does not conceive himself authorized, without further reference to the Honorable Court, to grant leases for any longer term. But it is shown in the reports of Captains O’Brien, Tremenheere, and Guthrie, that teak does not attain to any large size under eighty years, and it is therefore obvious, that grants of such forests should be in perpetuity, subject to a land rent, on the usual terms, for any part of the land at any time brought under cultivation. The Deputy-Governor is strongly of opinion, that the system should be pursued in regard to these forests, which prevails in the Crown Colonies, *i. e.*, that the locations should be sold outright, and a complete title conveyed to the purchaser. A recommendation to this end will be immediately forwarded to the Honorable Court. In the meantime, the Deputy-Governor directs me to request, that you will communicate with the existing grantees, and the persons engaged in the timber trade, in order to ascertain their views on this subject; and you may also take early measures for surveying and defining the boundaries of all existing grants, as well as the particular localities which, in your opinion, had better, for the present, be resumed for Government purposes. On this part of the subject, however, His Honor entertains a strong opinion, and will express it to the Honorable Court, that the Government interests will be best served by attracting private capital and enterprise to work the forests, and trusting for Government supplies to the market.

“Para. 37. It will be proper that the superintendent of forests should take every possible means of establishing teak nurseries in fit situations, not within the boundaries of occupied grants; and it may be expected that grantees, when assured of reaping the fruits of their own exertions, will themselves endeavour to propagate young trees within their localities.”

Our readers will have seen, that experience had proved the fatuity of such clap trap as that the interests of the grantees could be made to correspond with those of Government, and that the parade of the pseudo-liberal “strong opinion,” that “the Government interests would be best served by attracting private

‘ capital and enterprise to work the forests,’ was a begging of the whole question, by advancing a false plea and arguing upon it. Private capital and enterprise had not been at all backward at working the forests ; in fact, they were fast exhausting many, and had already completely denuded some forests ; the attraction had proved most efficacious, and needed no Government aid : what was needed was, that the action of capital and enterprise should not be synonymous with the annihilation of one of the most valuable products of the provinces. Now let us examine how the “obvious remedy” contemplated setting about the problem of making the interests of the grantees identical with those of the Government. We see from the despatch, and we know from other sources, that the grantees were not persons attached to the soil by antiquity of tenures and hereditary domicile ; but, on the contrary, they were chiefly Calcutta mercantile firms, or subordinate branch establishments, in close connection with such firms, and whose existence depended upon that of those centres of daring speculation and profligate expenditure. The one or two European grantees, not thus intimately connected with Calcutta agency houses, or to be regarded as mere branches, were, however, scarcely less dependent upon them for their mercantile life. The grantees, therefore, as a body, were of that class, whose period of mercantile life was well known to average no great number of years. It was plain matter of notoriety, and required no very accomplished actuary, but even such a moderate acquaintance with the common rules of arithmetic as it is fair to assume that a Deputy-Governor and his Secretary are possessed of, to arrive at a tolerably correct notion of this average—take it in round numbers at six or seven years, three crashes having taken place in the course of eighteen years.

Here it is plain, that if there were no other element to be taken into consideration than the ephemeral mercantile lives of such grantees, sometimes a consequence of their own conduct, sometimes a consequence of fluctuations in trade, the money market, and credit, over which they have comparatively no control, being swept away at a crisis when the periodical flood of wide-spread bankruptcy scatters ruin over the mercantile community,—it is plain, we say, that this single fact of the condition of ephemeral existence, inseparable from such a class of grantees, renders it absolutely impossible that their interests can be made identical with those of Government. Their interests, manifestly, must be to make the utmost they can, at the moment, of the forests, with an entire indifference

as to the future. To give them permanent property in the forests, with no further restrictions than that the grant shall become liable to the payment of land revenue, if ever it is denuded of trees, and brought under the plough, is to grant them a license to utterly exhaust the forests in the shortest practicable period. No plough being used in the provinces, and if it were, rocky mountain sides not being the usual soil chosen for the plough, the stipulation as to revenues contingent on the culture, by the plough, of the forest-denuded soil, is stark nonsense. The writer had not the candour to say plainly, " His Honor, wishing to pay court to the powerful influence of the Calcutta agency firms, headed by Messrs. Cokerell and Co., deliberately sacrifices the interests of Government, and hands over to the Calcutta agency houses, unconditionally, all the teak in the Tenasserim provinces, besides all other trees and products of the forests ;" he therefore cloaked this in verbiage, and thought that, by flattering the Court of Directors, with quoting one of their *ad captandum* general principles so easy to enunciate, he should conceal the intention of departing from it as widely as possible, and cover the deed of spoliation by the artifice of a measure which, under the pretence of studying the reciprocal interests of firms and Government, should hand the oyster over to the former, but not even the shells to the latter. The sagacity of the thirty-fifth para. is, however, lucid and transparent in comparison with that of the paragraph which follows it, for there confusion is worse confounded. What analogy there can be between a lease, such as that granted to the Baron des Granges, or other leases of waste lands, for clearance and cultivation, and a grant of a valuable teak forest, we are at a loss to conceive. In the one case, all the valuable products have to be created, after the land is cleared, by the expenditure of labour and capital ; in the other case very valuable property of a peculiar character exists, and the object is to husband the use and perpetuate the reproduction of the existing property. In the one case, the capital expended can have no return for several years, where laid out, as in the case of the Mergui estate, on coffee, cocoa, betelnut plantations and spices ; in the other case capital steps into the immediate enjoyment of a most remunerative return, in fact, one quite disproportionate to the insignificant outlay it may incur, in removing the standing property on the estate. Surely these are essential differences of condition, though a gubernatorial mind failed to observe them, or deemed it inconvenient to do so. What, for instance, would Messrs. Bright, and Cobden, and others of the Manchester school, say to

the politico-economist theory, which drew no distinction between the conditions of a capitalist who had gratuitously handed over to him, complete in every respect, and turning out its full daily quantity of fabrics, one of those magnificent piles of building, called a cotton factory, and another capitalist, to whom so much uncleared swamp and jungle soil was handed over, and who had to root up, clear, and drain, then to found and build the huge pile, and, lastly, to provide machinery, fuel, the staple, and the factory population, so as to give life and being to the eight or ten-storied monster house, before he could obtain a pound of cotton twist? Messrs. Bright and Co. would open their eyes at such a parallel and comparison; yet this is precisely what para. 36, above quoted, perpetrates with an air of ludicrous gravity. As the Deputy-Governor does not specify the Crown Colonies to which he alludes, he is pretty safe from criticism on the other analogy he propounds. We chance to know something of the matter of grants in Crown Colonies;—indeed, just sufficient to be sure that the discreet reserve we notice, was a safe precaution to eschew a castigation. But it is impossible not to be surprised at the ratiocination, which, knowing who the class of grantees really were, what their average mercantile life, and what the period that a teak tree requires to attain a profitable size, should hit on the device of investing a guardian, with six or seven years of life before him, with perpetuity rights over a minor, who had eighty years to run before he came of age! Under these circumstances, it certainly was a necessary precaution, that the superintendent of forests should keep his teak nurseries as clear of occupied grants as possible; but how such grantees could be assured of reaping the fruits of their own exertions, if they were so good-natured as to propagate young trees within their localities, is one of those enigmas which must be left to the Bengal Secretariat to expound, in some future number of these Selections.

The Court of Directors, to do them justice, do not seem to have been greatly taken with their Deputy Governor's mode of reasoning. Mis-informed (purposely we fear) as to the resumption of grants, which they seem to have understood to have been restored by order of the Deputy-Governor, instead of Cockerell and Co.'s being restored by that of the Commissioner, they approved of the instructions of Sir T. H. Maddock on that point, but observed upon the others, as follows, in a despatch of the 20th October, 1847:—

“Para. 6. We are aware that you do not appear to admit the necessity for this precaution, and you observe that the Government interests will be best served by attracting private

capital and enterprise to work the forests, and trusting for Government supplies to the market; but we do not concur in this opinion. It is quite possible that, not only lease-holders for ninety-nine years, but even lease-holders in perpetuity, may not think it worth while to form plantations, which must remain for eighty years without yielding any returns of value, and that after felling the timber on their estates, they may leave them waste or bring them under the plough. The latter course would, no doubt, be productive of much advantage, both public and private; but it might be pursued too far, and in any such case a stipulation should be introduced into the leases, providing for the payment of the ordinary assessment on lands brought into cultivation. It is absolutely indispensable, that a certain extent of forest land should be preserved for the supply of timber, and that the valuable resources existing in the Tenasserim provinces should not be exhausted through a repetition of the neglect which has proved so ruinous to those of Malabar. For these reasons, Government, as we observe in our despatch of the 30th November, 1842, should reserve to itself a resource independent of the public market; and we must consequently repeat the injunctions made in the same despatch, 'that before any further grants are made, some forests sufficiently extensive be selected, and placed under proper management, so as to afford a constant supply of timber, both of teak, and of other useful kinds indigenous in the country, for the wants of the Bengal Government, as well as of the Royal Navy.'

These remarks show but a hazy perception of the fallacies involved in the Deputy-Governor's despatch of the 7th September, 1846, but they evince some glimmering of common sense; and when it is remembered that the agency house interests were strong and active in the Court, the head of Cockerell and Co.'s house in England being a friend of the most influential members of the Court of Directors, and, of course, nothing slack in supporting the interests of the Calcutta house, by giving a suitable coloring to the conduct of the obnoxious Superintendent and Commissioner, this paragraph is far more creditable to the Court of Directors than the Deputy-Governor's despatch of the 7th September, 1846, which was evidently written with studious and unscrupulous hostility to Superintendent and Commissioner, and wholly in the interest of the agency houses;—so much so indeed, that they might have been charged with composing the document.

In India we manage these matters differently from the way things are done in England. There, indeed, the peculiar embarrassments of the superintendent of woods and forests render all

amelioration a matter of difficulty. " Since the Sovereigns gave up the immediate management, the offices in the forests had been conferred, more as marks of distinction on the neighbouring gentlemen, than with any view of enforcing the forest laws; and the consequence had been that the greatest confusion had prevailed. One set of officers, viz., those of the Commissioners of woods and forests, had charge of the timber;—another independent set of officers were appointed by the rangers, and had charge of the deer;—and a third set were appointed by the free-holders, to look after their common rights. The confusion arising from such conflicting authorities was incalculable. The Commissioners appointed in 1797 had advised a separation of rights in all the forests, but in 1848, when the committee met, no separation of rights had taken place in the New Forest, Dean Forest, Whychwood, Whittlebury and Waltham." From 1797 to 1848, half a century of Committees, Reports, Blue Books, &c., with nothing done, is very homologous with a half century of the revolutions of the reference wheel in connection with the Malabar forests, or the pace observable in a quarter of a century of reports and despatches, with regard to the Tenasserim teak forests. Still Lord Duncan could say that, " when he went down to the New Forest, he found great irregularities prevailing. The Deputy-Surveyor was ill, and the forest was under the management of the son of his assistant. Mr. William Reid. He found the quantity of timber cut was far larger than the amount returned to the office. Mr. William Reid referred him to his Solicitor, and shortly after left the country for France, where he had since resided. One person cut his throat, another bolted out of the forest, many other parties in Government employ were implicated, seventeen persons were fully committed for trial at Winchester; and it afterwards appeared, upon investigation by Major Freeman, selected by the Government for that purpose, that a system of robbery had been carried on, for many years, without the knowledge of the Commissioners of woods."

Now in India, instead of defaulting grantees cutting their throats, or easy-going superintendents bolting to France, or Siam, quite another course is adopted. Had Lord Duncan been in India, he would have been first vigorously snubbed for doing his duty, by the Government; and the Judge at Winchester, before whom the seventeen persons were committed for trial, would have received a missive, based on the disinterested representations of the persons profiting by the misconduct of the seventeen prisoners, ordering all proceedings against these unfortunates to be discontinued. The forests would,

moreover, have been granted on leases of ninety-nine years, or else in perpetuity, to the mis-employers of the seventeen innocents; and, finally, Lord Duncan, Major Freeman, and the Judge too, (though without awarding punishment, the latter chanced only to have warned the culprits against repetition of offences, and let them go,) would all three have been got rid of as soon as practicable, and replaced by others who were likely to prove more manageable, and not so inconveniently apt at doing their duty. Which system may be most in accordance with the customary notions of good Government, we shall not trouble our readers with discussing.

We now find Mr. J. R. Colvin, as Commissioner, and Captain T. Latter, as Superintendent of forests, and are launched afresh upon a series of reports and despatches. Captain Latter's report, shallow but prolix, need not be adverted to, being full of blunders and crotchety theories, which an unscientific habit of mind and study could alone account for. Mr. Colvin having been sent over on the "*private enterprise*" interests and views of the Deputy-Governor, appears to have followed suite very subserviently. That gentleman's reports and proposals proceed, judging from the extracts given in the volume before us, upon the same identical principles which form the distinctive qualities of the letter of the Deputy-Governor, of the 7th September, 1846, namely, the rejection of all experience, both that of the Malabar and of the Tenasserim coast, and the acceptance of exploded assumptions, such as the parallelism of interests between Government and grantees, and the wisdom of establishing, in favor of a class of grantees, whose existence is of the average ephemeral duration of six years, leases of ninety-nine years, or as he still more strenuously urged, leases in perpetuity. Nay, he went a step further in the "*private enterprise*" line, for, not satisfied with wishing to make over the teak forests unconditionally to this favored class of grantees, he was anxious to secure to them a monopoly, and to exclude the native community; for we are informed in para. 114, page 164, that in granting leases or permanent tenures to the occupants of forests on the Attaran, Mr. Colvin thought it would be advisable to exclude "many of the Burmese holders of forest licenses, who had not the means, or the character, from which to look for a useful result, were such a concession made to them." When we bear in mind the longevity of the class of grantees, in whose favor this exclusive monopoly was to be maintained, at the expense of the rights of the Burman holders of forest licenses, few more remarkable instances of a suggestion for a partial class-favoring legislation have ever been made public. The proposed conditions of

ouster, too, were such as were eminently calculated to open a door to the most nefarious litigation, and to afford an opportunity for the exercise of any amount of knavery. Unintentional this must have been, we should hope, on Mr. Colvin's part; but few things read worse in the whole volume, than this painful instance of deliberate proscription of the native in favor of the European. It is not thus that India should be ruled, or our new possessions in Burmah be managed; and we sincerely hope that this will be a solitary example of such inequitable jurisdiction. It appears to have drawn forth no comment or animadversion, for, after noting investigations relating to a modification of duty, para. 123 proceeds as follows:—

“Para. 123. On the 7th August, 1848, Government authorized the adoption of the proposed scale of duty, and on the 13th September following, a full report on the subjects of Mr. Colvin's report, dated the 28th October, 1847, of his two subsequent communications of the 21st June and 10th July, 1848, and of the orders of Government thereon, was sent to the Court of Directors, under instructions from the Earl of Dalhousie, the Governor of Bengal. The favorable consideration of the Court of Directors was solicited to the proposal of Mr. Colvin, for converting the leases for ninety-nine years into grants in perpetuity. The Court replied to this report on the 12th September, 1849. They disapproved of Mr. Colvin's proposal for granting leases in perpetuity, but sanctioned all the other measures which had been suggested, and those which had been introduced, the modified rates of duty included. On the subject of the proposed leases in perpetuity the Court wrote:—

“‘Para. 5. We cannot accede to any recommendation which would alienate from Government, in perpetuity, the proprietary right in these forests. We attach little importance to the argument urged by the Commissioner, as we are of opinion, that, where the prospect of obtaining any remuneration for the labor and expense bestowed on the forests is so distant, as must necessarily be the case in regard to the plantation of young teak trees, a perpetual tenure would have little, if any, advantage over a ninety-nine years' lease, in inducing the grantees, voluntarily, to incur that labor and expense, where there exists no express condition to that effect. We consider that a far more effectual plan for securing a renewal of the forests, on the tracts occupied by the present holders, would have been to make it a condition of the lease, that three seedlings should be planted wherever a tree had been cut down, and that any default in this respect (which might be ascertained by periodical inspections) should render the grant liable to resumption. Such a condition, if faithfully

performed, would secure for the future a constant supply of teak timber; and it might be held out as an inducement to lessees to exert themselves for the improvement of the forests, that if they were successful in that object, they might look forward to a renewal of the lease at the expiration of the present term.'

"Para. 134. The Court of Directors further deprecated the recognition of any proprietary right in individuals, whether European or native, to either the growing timber or the land in the Thoungeen forests. They observed, in reference to Mr. Colvin's report on the subject, that 'in the proceedings of the local officers, there appears to be a tendency to blend the right of property in the timber with the fair reward for labor.' The Court thought the Karen inhabitants might reasonably expect a fair remuneration for their labor in felling and preparing the trees, but they must not be allowed to have any right of property in the timber itself, or in the land in which it grows."

These orders of the Court of Directors were communicated to the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces, on the 14th January, 1850.

This concludes, up to the date of the issue of this volume in 1853, it may be supposed, the measures of Government with respect to the teak forests of the Tenasserim Coast. They amount, in fact, to a license to the holders to destroy the forests as soon as they please, and to an utter absence of anything which deserves the name of administration on this really national subject. Great have been the pretensions, and numerous the reports, references, and despatches, but the results have been even less than those attained on the Malabar Coast. The "*moulinet à lettres*" has indeed been spun with as much industry as the Lamas of Rache-Tchurin displayed before Monsr. Huc, with their "*moulinets à prières*"; in fact, the Lamas in both cases evidently proceed on the same principle, and their machinery is singularly identical. What more correct description could have been given of our "Great Lamas" and their gyratory-epistolar aptitude at doing nothing and taking their ease, than the following, in which the reader must understand *Lamaserie* to mean Presidency Governments? "Dans les grandes lamaseries on rencontre, de distance en distance, de grands mannequins en forme de tonneau, et mobiles autour d'une axe. La matière de ces mannequins est un carton très-pais, fabriqué avec d'innombrables feuilles de papier collées les unes aux autres, et sur lesquelles sont écrites, en caractères Thibétains, des prières choisies et le plus en vogue dans la contrée. Ceux qui n'ont ni le gout, ni le zèle, ni la force de

‘ placer sur leur dos une énorme charge de bouguins, de se prosterner à chaque pas dans la boue ou dans la poussière, de courir autour de la lamaserie pendant les froidures de l'hiver ou les chaleurs de l'été, tous ceux-là ont recours au moyen simple et expéditif du tonneau à prières. Ils n'ont qu'à le mettre une fois en mouvement; il tourne ensuite, de lui-même, avec facilité et pendant long temps. Les devots peuvent aller boire, manger ou dormir, pendant que la mécanique a l'extrême complaisance de prier pour eux.’

Had the Government, from the time the provinces were ceded to us in 1826, been in the hands of children, blowing bubbles instead of orders, more thorough and hopeless fatuity could not have been exhibited. Dr. Falconer sums up as follows; and though he has fallen into error in some respects in his report, a more just and a more severe condemnation could not have been penned of the inefficiency displayed by the Bengal Government in its forest measures—an inefficiency revealed by the results so clearly and forcibly stated.

“ *Para. 81.* The experience of the last twenty years has shown that the forests have been worked solely with a view to immediate returns, and with no regard to the future. The licenses have passed by transfer from hand to hand, and few of them have remained with the original holders. The timber trade has been carried on naturally with a view to make the most of a profitable article, while it lasted. As one source of timber became exhausted, other more remote tracts were explored, until the traders went beyond the boundaries of the province, and drew their supplies from the Shan states upon the Thoung-yeen, whence the greater part of the timber is now derived. Fixed capital never appears to have been invested in any part of the forests, with a view to operations extending beyond the duration of the timber then standing, or in prospect of being speedily available for use. The holders were fully awake to the impending exhaustion of their grants, but in no one instance was a steady effort made by them to maintain the value of the property for the future, by planting. Instead of this, the future was anticipated by felling every tree approaching the regulation standard. It is true that the tenures originally held were simply licenses revocable at will, and conveyed no permanent right of property, but I do not believe that this circumstance had much effect practically in influencing the operations of the holders; for during the period from 1829 to 1846, they were never disturbed in their possession; the ejectment measures resorted to by Captain Guthrie were immediately discredited by Government, and large sums were paid for the transfer of the licenses, showing the feeling of

security that was placed in them. The trade, as has been aptly stated by Mr. Colvin, was conducted in a spirit of gambling, with a hazardous outlay of capital, and very uncertain returns. The ultimate gains to most of the forest-holders have been small, and the profits of the traffic would appear to have remained with the prudent capitalists at Moulmein, who purchased their consignments on the spot from the adventurers who had brought the timber to the market.

"Para. 82. If such have been the results of the past, when the forests were covered with abundance of valuable teak timber, what reasonable grounds are there for expecting adequate measures of renewal from the grantees, now that they are bared? If the leases had reference to virgin forests stocked with teak wood, conditions of renewal might have been enforced, and the Government could have had the full guarantee that the provisions were carried out, by periodical inspections, and by forfeiture whenever planting was neglected. But with exhausted forests, when the prospects of return are nearly a century off, how can it be expected that capital will be invested by private parties with annual outlay, in so remote an adventure? Fixed capital in the province of Amherst has still to be created; there is none available at present for such an enterprise, and the only party who can be looked to for undertaking it, is the Government itself, for the prospective maintenance of its timber revenue.

"Para. 83. It may be urged that, as the proposed leases convey rights of property in the other woods and products of the grants, some of these ought, in the interim, to yield profitable returns. But on the other hand, it may be stated with more effect, that the demand for timber at Moulmein is at present confined to teak; that for other woods, it has still to be created; while at the same time there is no resident population in the Attaran forests to work upon the miscellaneous products.

"Para. 84. It appears to me that the principle of the new leases, however sound in the abstract, is like that acted upon by Sir Thomas Munro, with reference to the Malabar forests, much in advance of the existing condition and prospects, for many years to come, of the country to which it is proposed to be applied. But there was probably no other alternative open, besides taking the whole of the forests into the hands of Government, under a general system of management, with compensation to the license-holders for their existing rights, or granting them leases in perpetuity, on condition of renovating their tenures with teak timber."

We have here a flat contradiction to the inferences which

the Deputy Governor, in the despatch of the 7th September, 1846, wished to derive from the energetic conservancy acts of Captain Guthrie; but an erroneous statement as to the "large sums" paid for transfer of licenses, which, however, have been frequent enough, as may be imagined from what we have said. An exaggerated impression would also be the fruit of such expressions as "hazardous outlay," "and very uncertain returns," whilst it is manifestly incorrect to allege, that the ultimate gains to most of the forest-holders have been small. The gains, in so far as reaping, in a few years, the crop of centuries of growth of teak is concerned, have been great, but the forest-holders having usually been speculators in other mercantile transactions, it is next to impossible to approximate, correctly, to the actual profits on the devastation of the teak forests; and of course a scientific botanist, more conversant with plants than with ledgers, could not be expected to fathom such mysteries of the craft. Dr. Falconer appears to have been but too sensible of the ridiculous nature of the new leases, and, therefore, he adverts to them in the last paragraph we have quoted, as courteously as he could, covering the folly of Government by the assumption of a dilemma which, had it ever existed at all, was of their own creation, but which never did exist, and for the remedy of which, had it existed, the alternative of granting leases in perpetuity, or condition of renovating their tenures with teak timber, was palpably absurd, and sure to be wholly inoperative. It is treating the forests, and Government interests in the forests, as the charitable Lamas, quaintly described by sly Mons. Huc, do travellers. "Ce que

" nous envoyons aux voyageurs, ce sont des chevaux en papier.
" Après certaines formules de prières, nous prenons un paquet
" de chevaux que nous lançons en l'air; le vent les emporte;
" par la puissance de Bouddha, ils sont changés en véritables
" chevaux, et se présentent aux voyageurs." So these new
lehmats or leases, with their conditions, that at the end of ten
years, a certain proportion of the area of forest holdings is to
show of planted or spontaneous young teak some 3,097 to
the square mile, are on a par with the innocent amusement of
charity to which we have alluded; "ce sont des forêts en
papier," and need no grave discussion. If Dr. Falconer had
spoken out, in plain English, we see that his real impres-
sion was, that the only truly efficacious plan was to have taken
the whole of the forests into the hands of Government, under
a general system of management, with compensation, where
due, to license-holders.

Our Commissioners having failed to induce the Burmese envoys to come to terms, and it being now declared to be the

purpose of the British Government, not only to keep all they have claimed, as belonging to Pegu, which includes some considerable tracts of teak forest, but also, if molested, to annex a great deal more, in short, the whole Burman Empire ; it may be hoped that, with the admonitory examples of the Malabar teak forests, and of the still greater failure of the Tenasserim teak forests before them, the Supreme Government of India will not perpetrate a third instance of vacillating imbecility ; we trust that they are not contemplating handing over the Burmese forests, the most valuable product of the country being its teak, to the cupidity of Calcutta agency houses, or, in other words, to certain rapid exhaustion. The question is one of fiscal interest with respect to our late and future conquests, and annexations of territory, in a country, which will not, under the most economical administration, pay the expenses of occupation ; and also it is of moment with regard to the supply of our naval and marine requirements. What Mr. Norton has stated of our judicial system in India might, with far greater propriety, be applied to the forest system hitherto pursued. The volume before us shows, (more, however, on the part of Boards, Governors and Governors-General, than on that of conservators or Commissioners, some of whom sought to check mismanagement,) "one dead level of incompetence." Endless resultless reports and references, rules studiously rendered *ab initio* useless by the Government which issued them, and the interests of the state sacrificed to any and every pretext, in order to give free course to spoliation, in favor of "private interests and enterprise," *i. e.*, influential agency houses. We have had enough of this description of forest management, it is time to try another ; for the volume for which we have to thank the Bengal Government, is one continued exposition of what has been, however mystified by a perplexing series of reports, scientific and unscientific, either very gross jobbery or very gross imbecility. No other conclusions or alternatives present themselves —the Government, by its own showing, stands convicted of one or other ; neither is creditable, and we venture to recommend that the legislative council take in hand jurisdiction on behalf of the teak forests of our new acquisitions in Burmah, otherwise they too will disappear, speedily enough and for ever, under the "private enterprise" and "identity of interests" principles, the working and results of which have been as destructively exemplified by a quarter of a century of the no-code system on the Tenasserim coast, as by half a century of the no-code system on the Malabar coast.

ART. IV.—1. Joseph's Map of the Grand Trunk Road, from Calcutta to Benares.

2. Ditto Ditto, from Benares to Agra.

3. Sherwill's Geological Map of the Districts North and South of the Grand Trunk Road, between Calcutta and Allahabad. 1853. 8 Rupees. Surveyor General's Office.

WE have lately directed the reader's attention to *Calcutta in the Olden Time*; and now start from the city of palaces to Delhi, along a route which calls up vivid associations of the past, along with a view of nature, always blooming amid the ruins of man's handy work.

Our article is not designed so much for the information of Mofussilites, who are, or ought to be, familiar with the facts we shall state; but for those residents in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, or those strangers from England, who wish, in the absence of a North India "Murray" to have a descriptive outline of a country they propose to visit for health or business, and who are anxious to obtain hints and references suggestive of further inquiry—to know what can be seen in a tour of six weeks to the North West Provinces, at an outlay of 400 rupees. In 1850 a single seat from Calcutta to Benares cost 165 rupees, now it costs only 140 rupees from *Calcutta* to *Meerut*. We do not write for those who wish to make a tour in the mode of the London Cockney, "getting over the greatest possible amount of ground in the smallest possible amount of time," irrespective of what is to be seen along the way, like the London lady, who, when crossing the Simplon, was occupied with one of Bulwer's novels.

The number of books, descriptive of places in the North West Provinces, is quite puzzling to a traveller, and almost all are, to a great extent, echoes of *Heber's Journal*, which stands pre-eminently the *Magnum opus* as the guide to the traveller in India. His descriptions are generally accurate and true, and, to a great degree, they are suited for 1853. Some slight mistakes occur here and there, which, it is to be regretted, were not corrected by Murray, when he brought out his cheap edition of *Heber* in the Colonial Library. Among the Foreigners who have visited India, we notice *Monsieur Theroultre*, who travelled in 1838—40, "*dans l' interet des etudes litteraires et archeologiques de l' Inde ancienne*:" he proceeded as far as Kashmir, and has given us in a volume, 12mo., pp. 252, a lively sketch of what he saw. *Captain Von Orlich* came to India to learn the art of war, as in former days young gentlemen

visited the Low Countries for a similar purpose ; but the Sikh war was all over when he arrived ; he has given us, however, an interesting series of letters on India, addressed to Ritter and Humboldt. *Sigⁿor Manoulie* was forty-eight years Court Physician at Delhi, in Aurungzebe's time, and has handed down to us a very vivid account. *Honigberger's Thirty-five Years in the East* is valuable for medical men—he was physician at the Sikh Court. Foreigners do not give us as many gossiping accounts of dinners and hunting parties as English writers do ; but we get a better description of the country. What English writer, excepting Heber, is to be compared to *Dr. Hoffmeister*, who accompanied Prince Waldemar of Prussia to India in 1845, and has given us such a full detail of what he saw ? *Schomberg's Travels in India and Kashmir*—a few years since—alluded to in another place in the present No.—are also useful.

Among the works of modern English tourists, are Lieut. Bacon's *First Impressions*, 1831 to 1836, written in a lively style, describing a sporting life in the North West Provinces, giving a good account of Delhi, Agra, &c. ; *Parbury's Hand-Book* ; *Major Archer's Tour*, 1828 ; *Stocqueler's Hand-Book of India*, 1844, is the work of a practical man, who gives a considerable amount of information. *Mundy's Pen and Pencil Sketches*, 1828—*Skinner's Excursions in India*, in 1826—*Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, 1844, abound with lively sketches of the peasantry and their customs.

Nor have ladies' pens been idle ; we have a *Narrative of a Three Months' March in India, in 1833*, by the wife of an officer, giving a full detail of the roughing it on a march, baggage, &c. &c. : she went no higher than Cawnpur, the book is meagre. *Mrs. Montanbard's Year and a Day in the East*, in 1844. *Mrs. Parke's Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*, 2 volumes, 1850, is a mine of information of the most useful kind, abounding in antiquarian descriptions ; she is the Lady Wortley Montague of India.

Joseph's Two Maps of the Grand Trunk Road are indispensable—in those are marked the distances, dàk bungalows, chaukies, post offices, &c. *Captain She will's Geological Map* is of the utmost value to every one who takes the slightest interest in the mineral productions of the country. *Daniel's Drawings*, taken in 1788, give a very good idea of some of the magnificent buildings in the Upper Provinces. *Tassin's Map of Bengal and Behar* is good, except that it supplies us plentifully with roads where none such exist—to fill up—just as the Old Dutch filled up the blanks in their maps, by inserting mountain ranges.

There is little instruction or pleasure in visiting places in the North West Provinces, or anywhere else, unless persons are acquainted with the previous history of the localities; without this, the *genius loci* cannot be realized, and the principle of the association of ideas cannot be called into play. The great cities of the North West Provinces are great from their connection with Mogul times; we would therefore recommend to the intending traveller a diligent preparatory study of *Elphinstone's India*, *Martin's Eastern India*, *Hamilton's Gazetteer*, and *Macfarlane's Indian Empire*. What interest could Delhi have for a man not acquainted with the history of Timur's successors, the Moguls, who styled themselves "the lights of religion, conquerors of the world"? Just as little as St. Petersburgh could have for one who never heard of Peter the Great, or as the Kremlin at Moscow would have for one unread in the deeds of the old Czars.

Some knowledge of the language is requisite, if the traveller does not wish to be cheated and imposed on. Griffins are considered lawful prey, and interpreters are as bad as the guides on the Continent:—read Baron Von Schomberg's experience on this point. The person who knows Bengali will very soon understand what is said in Hindi, as both are dialects of the Sanskrit.

Though the road between Calcutta and Benares has little historic interest, yet the lover of Natural History, Botany, or Geology, may find many objects to delight him, as the works of Jacquemont and Hooker show—there may be "sermons in stones." Prepared by such studies for the enjoyment of country scenery, the traveller may say, with the author of *Childe Harold* :—

" There is a pleasure in the pathless woods,
 There is a rapture on the lonely shore,
 There is society, where none intrudes,
 By the deep sea, and music in its roar,
 I love not man the less, but nature more.
 From these our interviews, in which I steal
 From all I may be or have been before,
 To mingle with the Universo, and feel
 What I can ne'er express, yet cannot all conceal."

The French Government have published *Jacquemont's Journals and Scientific Researches*, in 5 volumes, 4to.—Dr. Hooker has also published *Notes of a Tour in India*; he was sent by Government on a botanical mission to India. Sherwill, in his *Statistics of Behar*, gives us a list of ninety different trees and shrubs, which line the forests along* the Trunk Road in that Zillah. We hope that the intercourse with the North West

Provinces will lead to a taste being formed for Natural History and botanical subjects, and that the love for country scenery, so natural to Englishmen, will be fostered in India.

Good temper is a great requisite—to allow for contingencies. Our English travellers, who visit Switzerland and the Black Forest, would be often amused at the impatience of your regular Ditcher, when he goes twenty miles from Calcutta: if every thing is not in Chowringhi order, he is highly indignant—Transit and all other Companies have to bear his storm of indignation—he must have his “comforts” everywhere.

The moral and intellectual benefits of travelling is a subject that has been dwelt upon from the days of Cicero to the days of Chesterfield, who enlarges on the benefits of “Le Grand Tour.” We cannot make “Le Grand Tour” in India; but we have the Grand Trunk Road; and we trust that independent of the medical benefits resulting from a change of scene, and relaxation from the ordinary routine of duty—the advantages to be realized from seeing men and manners at large, will serve as a stimulus to our denizens of the Ditch, to enlarge their Indian horizon, and see what India really is—not the Calcutta anglicised type of India “overgrown splendour in squalor,” but that presented by the energetic population of the North West, and by the remains of the glories of former days. We write with a most earnest desire to persuade all those who have time and means, to pay a visit to the North West Provinces, and there to gain enlarged views of things, and a nearer acquaintance with the condition of the people. The Bengali possesses various good qualities, but if you wish to see a specimen of the real Hindu character, you must visit the North West Provinces—you there see a manly bearing, very different from that of the crouching, sycophant Bengali.

The days when the brandy bottle and the Zenana formed the resource from ennui to the European “exile,” are passing away—sights and scenery will give an agreeable relaxation to the Indian resident; whether he be sportsman, sketcher, naturalist, &c.—neither need this relaxation be confined, as heretofore, to a visit “so far north as Krishnaghur,” or a rustication in Chandernagur.

We hope the Railway will soon carry the traveller quickly over dull parts of the road, that it will be to our Ditchers as the Moscow Railway is to the people of St. Petersburg; but our experience from travelling twice through Belgium by Railway is—if you visit a country not as a merchant, but as

a tourist, the Railways do not enable you to see the land—you are so hurried from place to place, that memory retains very indistinct traces of the peculiar features of the landscape. Our own recollections of Belgian towns are very dim from that circumstance. Besides, subjects of antiquarian or botanical interest can only be examined by slow travelling—one can gain no idea of the contour of a country from a railroad. We passed through some magnificent scenery between Malines and Aix-la-Chapelle, but seen from a rushing rail-carriage, it appeared all tame.

The Grand Trunk Road—the *only* road in the Lower Provinces, after our possession of Bengal for a century—and that not yet completed, eight bridges being wanting between Calcutta and Benares—has cost fifty lakhs. Last century the line of communication with the Upper Provinces lay along the Ganges route, which was adjacent to the old capitals of Bengal, Gaur, and Murshidabad. It was commenced about 1833, and is a noble monument to Lord W. Bentinck. He received the name of William the *Conqueror* from parts of this road being metalled with *kankar*! Its opening has given us a knowledge of the country, like that the Russians have now by the railroad between Petersburgh and Moscow. Previous to his time there was only a road via Sulkea, Bankura, Hazaribhag, &c., on which the Government expended several lakhs, now entirely out of repair; it contained no hard material, and was merely a line, marked by two ditches, from which a little earth was occasionally thrown to fill up ruts or hollows made by the rain, while bearers were supplied on requisitions made to zemindars. The present one is thirty feet wide, fourteen of which are metalled, and is forty-four miles shorter between Calcutta and Benares than the old one. Eight rivers, however, still remain unbridged, and we have it on good authority, that three times as much money have been spent on the construction of the road in the Lower Provinces, as ought to have sufficed for completing those bridges and keeping the road in thorough repair. It was under the Military Board.

Not only is the Trunk Road a scene for tourists, but it also presents another subject of interest. We believe, notwithstanding Calcutta prejudices to the contrary, that Bombay is destined to be the great steam-port of India, and that Guzerat will be again what it was in Portuguese and Mogul days, when the little port of Tarda, near Calcutta, was large enough to accommodate the trade with Bengal, while Scinde was the seat of a thriving commerce. The route to Europe, via Bombay, will probably lie along part of this line—are we to be always doomed to traverse so many miles to the South, and so many to

the North again, rounding Ceylon, &c., in order, after all, to reach the same latitude as that of Bombay? Twenty years hence, we trust it will be done pleasantly, via Mirzapur, Jubbulpur, and Nagpur, or as Mr. Turnbull suggests, by the valley of the Soane, and then along the valley of the Nerbudda or of the Tapti. We are glad to find that the mails between Calcutta and Bombay have, of late, begun to be carried via Mirzapur and Jubbulpur, instead of via Midnapur, the latter route being through a dense jungly country, of no commercial or other importance, and where the coolies are often carried off by tigers, or the letters are reduced to a state of pulp. Even now four days take the traveller to Mirzapur, the Calcutta of the North West Provinces; from thence a pleasant trip along a good road to Jubbulpur, and from that place, on via Nagpur, one can move at his leisure to Bombay.

The Trunk Road to Benares having been commenced only since 1832, and being constructed on the plan of making it as straight as possible, irrespective of towns, there are no cities on the line; you do not meet, as on the old Ganges route, with such places as Murshidabad, Rajmahal, Bhagulpur, Monghyr, Buxar, Ghazipur, yet we trust to show that there are various subjects of interest along this line.

In the North West Provinces police chaukies are located within hail of each other, along every two miles of the road; and in Bengal they have lately adopted this good practice. There is also a *European* overseer of roads stationed at every fifty miles. Medical assistance may be obtained at various places—in fact, a lady may travel along the road as securely as she would along the streets of Calcutta, perhaps even more so.

The *dâk bungalows*, the modern form of the Mogul serais, are very comfortable; they line the road at an average distance of twelve miles; between Calcutta and Benares there are thirty-two. Each is provided with two bath rooms, two dressing rooms, and two bed rooms, with bed-steads, while some have more accommodation: hot water, milk, *chapatis*, grilled-fowl, curry, eggs, are obtainable at all, and in some you may procure mutton, kid, champaigne, beer, &c., &c. Knives and forks, plates, spoons, tea-pots, salt, are furnished in the *dâk bungalows*, while a khansama, cook, bhisti, mehter, are also provided by Government. Small libraries of religious books are placed in those bungalows located in the North West Provinces, which are very convenient for travellers stopping in them in hot weather. The increase of travellers is bringing those bungalows more and more into demand; European houses cannot now be turned into "Red Lions."

Notwithstanding the complaints made against the Transit Companies, of their occasional bad horses, yet the improvement in travelling effected by them has been great and wonderful. Instead of husband and wife having to be boxed up for sixteen days, in those portable ovens, or coffins, “the conveyance, horsed by man,” “horrible boxes, open at both ends,” and most thoroughly unsocial, yclep’d palkis, a costly and fatiguing conveyance, shaking your poor bones *quantum sufficit*, travelling at three miles per hour, and at eight annas a mile, and having sleep at night completely disturbed by the bearers at every stage poking a filthy torch in your face and crying out for bakshish; independent of this, lying in an irksome recumbent position, you cannot enjoy the view of scenery or of buildings, cannot well read or have any social intercourse; but the days of palkis, of *demurrages, and dishonest pitarra-wallahs*, are passed—on the whole route from Calcutta to Delhi, we meet with few travellers by them. Old Terry would now rejoice that “men are not turned into pack-horses, a thing most unworthy of a man.” There is another mode of travelling—marching *à la militaire* twelve miles daily, having to take a tent, servant, hackeries, utensils of all sorts, with the chance of waking in the morning and finding all your wearing apparel and money carried off by thieves. We know the case of an officer and his wife some years ago, who were sleeping in their tents near *Maharajganj*, beyond Benares. Awaking in the morning, their clothes and all their valuables were gone; the lady had to borrow clothes, and by means of a Government officer they got their keys back by purchase from the thieves! We know another case, of a Missionary, who went to a *mêla* to preach, and while sleeping in his tent at night, the thieves came, robbed him of all his clothes, and he was obliged to go home wrapped up in a blanket. The skilful achievements of thieves on travellers in tents, in this road, as well as in the fortress of Fort William, Calcutta, if collected, would form as interesting a volume as ever did the “Irish rogues and rapparees,” or the adventures of Jack Shepherd or Dick Turpin. We can now roll along, by the aid of those Companies, at an average of six miles per hour, or 100 miles daily, allowing four hours’ stoppage, changing the position at pleasure, from a sitting one to a recumbent, by drawing a board across the seat: or mount morning and evening on the box, to view the scenery of the country. These gharris serve as sitting-rooms by day, as bed-rooms by night, as a wardrobe, a library, and a kitchen, rendering the traveller independent of hospitality. If detained on the road, you can easily make your own coffee in your carriage,

light your lamp and read yourself to sleep. Horses are changed at about every six miles, and coachmen at sixty ; there are 156 stages from Calcutta to Meerut, but our ditch traveller must not expect all the conveniences of Chowringhi, he must be prepared, like *all other* travellers, to rough it a little ; he must not imagine, that out of 350 horses, which he will employ between Calcutta and Delhi, and back again, *every one* is to be good. There are ups and downs in horses, as well as in life—he must study the doctrine of chances and also the past—think of the time when Benares was a two and half months' journey from Calcutta, by a budgerow, exposed to all the perils of treacherous sand banks, falling in banks, currents, north westers, roguish mánjis who rove a hole in the boat, mosquitoes, fleas and flies, with an occasional day, perchance, on a sand bank ; so that the voyage was attended with more risk and infinitely more trouble than one to London from Calcutta, though sometimes these *voyages* were very social, when “floating villages” of budgerows, those “inverted cocked hats,” sailed in company. Read the Journals of travellers on the Continent, thirty years ago, their descriptions of teasing Custom House officers, roguish inn-keepers, bad carriages, &c. When we consider the difficulties those Transit Companies had to encounter, the mortality of good horses in the hills, the badness of the Bengali attendants on the horses, the state of part of the road sometimes, instead of grumbling, we are surprised that they have succeeded so well. In the course of twelve months they will, very likely, fix their head-quarters at Mangalpur, which will possess the advantage of enabling them to control more effectually the most difficult part of the road, the passage through the hills.

The system of travelling by *horse dâk* originated, as almost all improvements have done, in connection with the Government of the North West Provinces. Ten years ago, Mr. Riddel, the present Post Master General of the North West Provinces, and Dr. Paton, late Post Master of Alighur, commenced the plan. Trucks drawn by one horse, and conveying a palanquin, were first employed ; but they soon gave way to the convenient palki-ghari ; passengers increased, and this led to the formation of the *Inland Transit Company* in 1849, for running a horse dâk on the road. It was started by a native, Tantimul, the famous contractor of the Allahabad and Cawnpur boat bridges. They ran the mails by contract—the original proprietors were Mr. Gee, a Cawnpur merchant, Mr. McLaughlin, Ex-Post-Master of Cawnpur, now Director of the Himalaya Tea Cultivation Company, and

Lalla Tantimul. From Calcutta to Burhi they have nine horses at every stage, six from that to Benares, and four from Benares to Meerut. From Burdwan to Meerut the Company hire horses from sircars at about fifteen rupees monthly; they have reduced their fares in 1852, above Benares, from four annas to two annas a mile, and below, from five annas to three annas. In 1850 Mr. Atkinson started a rival Company, but he soon failed—after him Mr. Probett, of Cawnpur, started a Company; and then the *North West Dâk Company*, a Calcutta Company, *but* well managed, providing excellent carriages, and good horses. This Company employ 600 ~~scyes~~, 200 suwars, 80 native writers, 60 coachmen, and 20 European overseers. Their monthly outlay is 12,000 rupees, their operations extend over a space of 1,200 miles. Such have been the benefits from this horse dâk, that letters reached Calcutta from Benares, all last hot season, in 52 hours, instead of 120, under the old system.

The traveller need not limit his time for a visit to the North West Provinces to the cold weather, for though some delay may arise here and there, in the rains, from ferries and swollen rivulets, yet there is the advantage of a richer vegetation clothing the ground, relieving that arid appearance the North West Provinces have in the cold weather; besides, the horses are not so over-worked by the constant rush of passengers.

We started after the Christmas of 1852, and returned on the 12th of February—we therefore give things as they were then. Since that time several changes have occurred. We mention the places in the order they present themselves on the Map, but would recommend, that the traveller “long in populous cities pent,” should, when starting fresh, and anxious for exercise, make a long push, and proceed on at once to Allahabad. With the aid of the Railway, shortly to open to the Mangalpur coal mines, Allahabad may be reached in four days. Taking the average rate of travelling, 100 miles per day, leaving Calcutta early on Monday morning, he may arrive in *Allahabad* on Friday morning, spend a few hours in visiting the fort, &c. *Futtihpur* may be reached by Saturday morning; after a few hours’ stay, *Cawnpur* may be reached on Saturday evening, the sabbath rest can be enjoyed there. The traveller may proceed at 4 on Monday morning for *Agra*, where he can arrive on Wednesday night, remain there till the following Tuesday afternoon in the third week, then start for *Delhi*, which can be reached on Wednesday afternoon; remain there till the following Monday, then start for *Lucknow*, which can be reached by Wednesday afternoon; remain there for two

days, return to Cawnpur by Saturday morning, and the Sunday may be spent in Allahabad ; on Monday evening of the fifth week, Mirzapur is reached, and Benares on Wednesday ; start the following Monday for Gaya, reach that on Wednesday, then to Parasnath on Friday, and on Saturday night to Calcutta.

Starting from Calcutta, we cross the Barrackpur suspension bridge, over a canal which occupies the site of the famous Mah-ratta Ditch, near which an engagement took place between Suraj Daula and the English, as celebrated in its day as the battle of Aliwal is now. This canal, excavated in 1822, is the grand medium of communication between the Hugli and Eastern Bengal, and is constantly crowded with boats : between 1843 and 1845, two years, 132,230 boats entered it from the Salt Water Lake, and 31,850 from the Hugli at Chitpur, while 107,390 entered Tolly's Nullah within the same period. This canal yields Government a net revenue of two lakhs, of which very little is expended in preventing its silting up, or in widening it in certain parts.

Passing this canal, the Rubicon of Calcutta, we are clear of Calcutta, with its cliques and fetid odours. We meet on the right hand, half a mile distant, one of those towers, erected for the purposes of the great Trigonometrical Survey. Near it, on the right, are the gardens of Budinath Ray, in which an excellent menagerie was kept. Passing various garden houses of babus, and Chitpur, the Northern *Kali Ghat*, noted, during three centuries, for its human sacrifices, stated by Wilford to have been the metropolis of a district in Bengal, we then leave on the right Cox's Bungalow, and the Governor-General's stables. On the left is the road to the Agurpara school, and to *Kharda*, the residence of the followers of Chaitanya for three centuries.

The road is lined with fine trees, planted by the Marquis of Wellesley, among which are some noble *Acacia*, *Odina*, *Melia*, *Azadirachta*. The first line of Railway proposed, was to have passed parallel to this road, on to the drifting sands of Bhagwan-gola, requiring a bridge 1,200 feet long, at Ranaghat, and another at Krishnaghur. It is singular how advantages are shifted in Bengal from one locality to another. The left bank of the river has been the favoured side for a century and a half past, now Haurah is to get the preference by its Railway line, and in a few years, the populous districts between Haurah and Hugli, along the line of the Railway, will present as cheering a sight as the Barrackpur road does now.

We pass near *Titaghur*, famous, forty years ago, for its ship-building; but the river is silting up, and ships could not be built there now. Thus, for instance, in the middle of last century, the Dutch used to bring their large ships up to Chinsurah, but owing to the subsequent shallowness of the river, they were obliged to anchor them at Fulta. Beyond Titaghur, openings in the Park present a beautiful glimpse of Serampur. We come next to the Menagerie and Aviary, which will well repay a visit of an hour—the giraffes, bears, tigers, rhinoceroses, &c., &c. We pass along the parade ground, memorable for the execution of the sipahi regiment, who refused, in 1824, to march to Burmah: they were surrounded acre, and a discharge of grape poured into them. We come next to the river; on the left are the powder depôts, and to the right is the site of the old Ostend factory, which was fortified in the middle of last century. Near this, Mr. Simms (*Selections from Records of Bengal Government, No. X.*) proposed placing water-works to convey river water to a reservoir between Belgachi and Calcutta, at an expense of seventy lakhs, with an annual expenditure of five and a half.

We pass over *Pulta Ghât* ferry, reminding us of the days when French, Dutch, and Portuguese proas passed by its shores: now the English flag floats alone here. The grounds of Ghiretti we pass on the right; they once formed the park of the Governor of Chandernagur, and were the Versailles of former days. A mile further on, we come to the ruins of the house, once the scene of revelry and dance, in front of which, last century, 120 carriages have been seen at night, when magnificent balls were given by the French chief to the English élite. We come next to Chandernagur, noted for its healthy situation, with its street on the river side, called by Jacquemont *une délicieuse promenade*; then to the Church of St. Louis, and the Governor's house; turning to the left, we pass close to the ruins of the old fort, battered by the English fleet in 1757; but a guard of twenty-one sipahis, and a few acres of land, are all that remain of the French power in this part of India. Further on, we enter a gate, the boundary of the French territories. What would Monsieur Dupleix say, were he now alive, on seeing the narrow boundary of *la belle France* in India! Next we come to *Biddarra*, where Dutch and English met in the tug of war. (*See Malcolm's Life of Clive.*) We enter Chinsurah, once Dutch; this place had once a fine Dutch fort and handsome gardens, cultivated by the Hollanders—but all has passed away:—they held Chinsurah for 180 years, when they got Java in exchange for it—gold for brass. Passing near the college, originally the residence of General Perron, of Mahratta celebrity, then through a

populous street, we arrive at Hugli Ghât ; near this, on the left, was the old fort of the Portuguese, which stood a siege, in 1632, of three months and a half. Hugli was the first settlement of the English in Bengal, who traded here in 1640 ; Aurungzebe cherished a deep hatred against the Portuguese, on account of their buying up children as slaves, to make converts of them, and sell them into distant settlements. 10,000 Portuguese were killed during this siege. Had their countrymen in other places showed the same valour, they would not have had the epithet applied to them of *Gallinas dell' Mar*—hens of the sea. We then pass *Bandel Church*, the oldest Christian Church in Bengal, built in 1599. The monks here saw the capture of the fort, in 1633, which resulted from the explosion of a mine opposite to them. (See *Calcutta Review*, No. X., pp. 256—259, for a notice of the Portuguese in Hugli.) The English had a factory at Hugli, in 1640.

We pass through the village of *Satgan*, once a royal city, and emporium of trade, and last century adorned with the country seats of the Dutch of Chinsurah. We cross a bridge, over a stream which once held the Ganges waves, when the river flowed down in this channel via Satgan, and came out near Andul, the Nuddea of the South. (See *Calcutta Review*, No. XII., p. 403.) The first Europeans who came to this country describe two ports, one *Chittagan*, the other *Satgan*. We need not be surprised at few remains of Satgan existing now ; the fate of Gaur, a beautiful city, as late as Akbar's time, larger then than Calcutta is now, but destitute at this time of any inhabitants, shows us the destructive influence of time, and of the climate of Bengal, as well as the effect of river changes.

Leaving Satgan, we enter fairly on the Trunk Road.

The traffic along this road strikes the traveller ; by a calculation made a few years ago, 73,000 foot passengers, 49,000 loaded hackeries, 17,155 empty returning hackeries, 64,415 loaded bullocks, and 339 Government dâks, passed annually between Hugli and Burdwan ; in salt alone, between Calcutta and Burdwan, the trade amounted, in one year, to 12,962 tons. The lake Sambhir, in Rajputana, used formerly to supply salt ; now the Sunderbunds furnish it : the sugar and gur amounted to 18,518 tons. We are glad to find that Government has established, last March, a Bullock Train between Calcutta and Benares.

At *Muggra* we cross over a river in which the waters of the Damuda once flowed—now they join the Hugli thirty miles below Calcutta. The old bed of the Damuda here supplies the Calcutta builders with sand. There is no bridge, and yet there

is a surplus of Ferry Funds for the district of Hugli, of Rs. 117,578 ! and from the thirty-one districts of Bengal and Behar, of eleven lakhs !

Mile stones on the right hand going up, point out to the traveller the distances. We caution him against trusting to natives' estimate of distances, which will be not according to fact, but according to what they think you wish. Monsieur Theboulde gives an illustration of this,—walking, near the Ganges, at Allahabad, he asked a native what the name of the river was; he replied, "the Ganges, Saheb;" to be more sure, he asked him if it was not the Jumna, the reply then was, "it will be the Jumna, if the saheb wishes it."

Perua or *Pandua*, forty-two miles from Calcutta, a Musalman village, of 2,000 families, noted for daka*tai*, marks the Northern limit of the growth of the cocoanut tree, which does not flourish beyond this: it requires the influence of the sea air. A tower on the right hand, 120 feet high, is well worth a visit, for the view to be obtained from its summit, commanding a wide extent of country, as far as Hugli. An iron rod runs up to the top, which the pilgrims, who come here in January, say, was Shah Sufi's walking stick. Nearly opposite it is the tomb of Shah Sufi—the leader of the Musalman troops against the Hindus, who on this spot received a defeat as destructive of their sovereignty in Bengal, as Waterloo was of Napoleon's régime. See *Calcutta Review* No. XX., p. 128: where an account is given of the Mogul translator of Persian documents, at the Court of the Hindu Raja of Perua, having, at a feast given on the birth of his child, killed a cow, and buried the bones, in order not to give offence. But the bones were dug up by jackals, the Hindus rose *en masse*, and demanded punishment on the murderer of a cow—the people seized the child as the cause, and killed it. The Mogul appealed to the Raja—no redress—on this he picked up the bones and went to Delhi; the Emperor sent an army, who defeated the Hindus in a pitched battle. Pandua was at that period a strongly fortified place, the residence of a Hindu Raja. The tradition goes that the place was impregnable against attack, in consequence of a sacred tank, that possessed the property of restoring life to the soldiers that were killed; but by a stratagem, a piece of cow's flesh was thrown into it, which removed its power. Pandua surrendered, and this tower was erected as a trophy. Shah Sufi was offered the Government of Bengal, by Firoz Taglac, the Emperor of Delhi, his uncle, but he refused, preferring a life of peaceable seclusion in Pandua, devoted to religious contemplation. A fine mosque near it is 200 feet long, with sixty domes, which increase

sound like the Whispering Gallery of St. Paul's, London—one part of it is raised, where Shah Sufi used to sit.

On the left hand side, a little West of the village, is a large tank, called *Pir-pukur*, surrounded by *Pir sthans*. There is a fakir here, said to have tame alligators in the tank, that on calling one of them by his name, Fatikhan, the alligator obeys the call, and comes to the surface. We have an account of a similar fact in *Von Orlich's Travels*, where, in a tank near Karachi, he saw thirty alligators, at the call of the fakir, "instantly creep out of the water, and like so many dogs, lie in a semi-circle at the feet of their master." This tank was probably dug 500 years ago; in parts it is forty feet deep: it has a pretty appearance, with the ruined *imambaries* and tombs on its borders, the latter being probably those of Mussalmans, who fell in battle at the siege of Pandua: there is abundance of vegetation on its surface.

There is a tank near this called *Shimábasan*, visited by sterile women, who take a *patali* sweetmeat in their hands, dip it in the water, if it floats back to them, they regard it is a sign they will have a son.

Boinchi, a populous village of 15,000 people, is notorious for *dakaiti*—the *patnadar* system, corresponding to the Irish Middle men or Rack Rent system, leads to this. Mr. Dampier, in his last police report, states, that had it not been for the employment given by the Railway embankments, the poverty of the peasantry here would have led to great robberies.

A few miles beyond, we enter the Burdwan zillah, a garden in a wilderness, containing a population of 1,440,000 (see *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI), one-fifth of whom are Mussalmans.

Beyond is *Mimari*, fifty-five miles, likely to be a Railway station. The alluvial soil of Bengal begins to cease, and the land to rise; the streams no longer bear down mud but gravel, the soil becomes sandy, the grass here is a kind of *sachcharium*, and forms a beautiful hedge—the *bignonia odoratissima* exhales a delightful perfume, the roads are kept in good order, being metalled with *hankar*, a nodular deposit of limestone, from calcareous springs; it resembles large pebbles, tuberculated on the surface; it binds very well for roads, but forms a disagreeable dust, and after rain, becomes very sticky; it is curious to see in the North West Provinces, gangs of men beating this down, mixed with water, with a wooden mallet, when it speedily forms a surface as smooth as a plastered wall, and as hard as a limestone rock.

At *Dallea Bazar*, the *Damuda* river, a mountain torrent approaches within a few miles of the road, running parallel to it

on the left, as far as the Barrakur. It rises in the hills of Ramghur, and drains about 7,200 square miles of country. In the rains as much water falls into it as would fill a channel twenty feet deep and two miles wide. We may judge of the rush of its waters, from the fact, that whereas in the highest spring tides in June, the river at Calcutta rises seventeen feet, the Damuda at Ampta, the same distance from the sea, has only an elevation of ten inches.

Approaching Burdwan by a fine avenue of old trees, we have on the left the Mission Church, erected by the late Rev. J. Weitbrecht, at a cost of Rs. 10,000. The Mission, with its interesting boarding schools, deserves a visit. The tank opposite the church, on the right side of the road, was the receptacle of the bodies of many murdered travellers, in days of *thug* notoriety, when they were strangled on the high road, and their warm corpses were flung into this tank.

The ground beyond was the scene of stirring events. 100 years ago, 120,000 Mahrattas lay encamped here: "those military mushrooms, who spread from the Ganges to the Kavery," rivals first of the Moslems, and who, aided by the French, for forty years contested with England for supremacy in India.

A mile to the left lies the *Damuda*, "une mer de sable blanc," which formerly flowed into the Hugli, by a detour as far South as Bundipur, and then North to Nyaserai; it now disembogues itself near Diamond Harbour, forming, with its barren sands, those shoals, the James and Mary, which threaten, ere long, to block up the Hugli navigation for large ships—the silt held in suspension in the Damuda in the rains is estimated at two cubic inches per cubic foot of water. In the North West Provinces there is a great proportion of sedimentary deposit in rivers—this also comes down here. We need not be surprised, therefore, at the accounts we have of the Ganges in 1794, filling up, with its sediment, the mouth of the Bhagirathi, five miles in length, containing 900 millions solid feet. Respecting these changes, see *Selections of Public Correspondence*, No. II., *Reports on the Nuddea Rivers*. We have also to calculate on the effects the Gangetic and other canals of irrigation are likely to have on the supply of water which the rivers Jumna and Ganges send to the Lower Provinces. The coal mines give employment to boatmen on this river in carrying 81,000 tons of coal annually to Calcutta, by a detour of 200 miles, at a cost of three annas and a half per maund—its *bunds* have been the great terror of late days, proposed by the Commission of 1836, to be abandoned; but a recent report, No. XII. of *Selections of Public Correspondence*, opposes this view, recommending that the

bunds of the right bank be broken down, and that sluices be opened at intervals in the left bank, to drain the water off, and raise the low country by a silting process.

The Raja of Burdwan's palace is well worth a visit of a few hours—he is the richest landed proprietor in Bengal, drawing a revenue of half a million sterling, out of which he pays to Government twenty lakhs. A new palace has been lately erected by him, superbly furnished. He has a fine menagerie, a splendid tank, thirty acres in extent, and spacious gardens. In this place is laid the scene of the popular Bengali poem, the *Vidya Sundara*.

The Raja's family is of Kshetryia origin, but of modern date—the Raja of Vishnupur, in this district, can trace his regal ancestry for 1,000 years. Burdwan has a population of 50,000: it had the title given to it of *Kusumapur*, or the flowery city.

At Golgaon, a few miles beyond the staging bungalow of Sirsole, and twenty-five miles from Burdwan, commences the proposed line of Railway for the "steam port of Calcutta"—Rajmahal, which will then be six hours from Calcutta, by a Railway of 180 miles. The detour of boats in the dry season to Rajmahal via the Sunderbunds, is 308 miles. The line crosses the Aji river, a few miles West of Elimbazar, to which large boats can come from the Hugli in the rains. This Railway will enable the traveller to enjoy the views in Birbhum,—the wild and beautiful scenery of the Rajmahal hills,—and to see the remains of Gaur, the Nineveh of Bengal, called by Akbar, the paradise of countries, a city which, three centuries ago, had two millions of inhabitants, and was enclosed by a wall twenty miles in circumference and sixty feet high. The cascade of Mutijirna, and the rocks of Jangira, are also interesting. The whole of a country teeming in the remains of antiquity, so well described by Franklin in his *Jains*, will then be brought to light. Birbhum and Bhagalpur are almost *terra incognita*, while Darjiling, "the natural sanatorium of Bengal," perched 7,218 feet high, will open new views to us regarding Sikkim and Butan:—Sikrigali, Malda, Colgang, Bhagalpur, and its Jain remains, Patarghata, the second Benares, with its sculptures and Buddhist caves—one of which is 136 feet long, and twenty-four broad, without a pillar or beam to support its roof—Monghyr, and Patna, will be accessible. How little do we know of Purnea, Tirhat, and Rangpur!

Birbhum, the ancient *Mallabhumi*, is quite unexplored: it pays Rs. 750,000 annual revenue to Government, but little is spent on the education of the people, though they amount to 700,000, and yet more than 30,000 bigahs have been

given up to *Devatra* purposes. The worship of *Yam*, the judge of death, is extensively prevalent here. The *Santuls*, an aboriginal tribe, abound in the zillah. The famous shrine of *Vaidanath* or *Deoghur* is in this zillah; its temple, built nearly three centuries since, is a mile in circumference: its mela, in March, is as well attended as any one in India. To the North of it lies the *Jangal tarai*, a wild spot, the lands of which were let out on the plan of Military Colonies, by Warren Hastings, to the veteran sipahis: the aborigines here have thick lips.

A steamer can now go as quickly from New York to Liverpool, as from Calcutta to Rajmahal. The Railway will make great changes in the country. We find that, in three years—from 1842 to 1845—49,209 vessels, paying a toll of Rs. 486,600, passed Jangipur—that in another year, 83,493 tons passed down, 95,373 up the river; and of passengers 31,950 down, and 26,428 up. The majority of these will pour down by the rail, and will render Burdwan and its neighbourhood very different from what they have been. We mention a few statistics to show what changes in the line of traffic are likely soon to occur. The annual commerce of the Ganges from Calcutta to Mirzapur amounts to 1,666,000 tons, and 569,000 passengers; from Delhi to Mirzapur 897,000 tons, and 446,000 passengers. Sugar, 100,000 tons, from the North West Provinces to Calcutta; salt, 125,000 tons, from Calcutta to the North West Provinces. The kankar, limestone, building-stone, and saul timber of the Rajmahal district, will find a good sale in Calcutta; in fact, between the Rajmahal and Currakpur hills, the mineral and other treasures are immense, and only require a means of transit.

Near *Caksa*, at the 102nd mile-stone, the road begins to undulate slightly; at the 110th mile-stone we come to a country yielding a large supply of charcoal; the alluvium is left behind.

At *Kyrasole*, 112 miles, the land is 360 feet higher than the sea level, and the view is picturesque; two spurs are thrown off from those elevations, one in the direction of Berhampur, the other of Nuddea; for a full account of these, see *Williams's Geological Report on the Damuda Valley*. From this place the coal measures of the Damuda valley commence, and extend nearly as far as Bagsama, covered extensively with alluvium, mixed with a nodular argillaceous limestone, called *gootin*, used for building purposes.

Copse, with sandstone peeping out, are to be seen before we come to Mangalpur, reminding one of the Hounslow Heath of former days, though without its highwaymen emerging from the bush. Calcutta Cockneys may talk of the difficulties

of our Grand Trunk Road—what would they have said to English roads thirty years ago? Well do we recollect having to travel from London to Bristol, in 1823, on the outside of a mail coach, of a cold November night, right glad to get a seat on any terms, and having the tedium of the way relieved by the guard's anecdotes of highwaymen's adventures on Hounslow Heath, while his full-charged brass blunderbuss showed that the danger had not altogether passed away.

Mangalpur, situated in a vale, memorable for the forays between the different coal proprietors, is the commencement of the coal district: The mines of Raniganj, so called from the Rani of Burdwan having had the proprietary rights vested in her, are between the Damuda and Aji rivers. The history of monopoly in connection with those mines would, if revealed, unfold many a curious scene in connection with the state of law in the Mofussil. They were opened thirty years ago by a Mr. Jones, and deserve a visit of a few hours. Dr. McLelland, in his *Geological Survey*, gives us some beautiful drawings of the fossils of the Burdwan coal. The dâk bungalow here is prettily situated. From the 125th to the 140th mile, the road passes along the Burdwan Coal field: to the left may be seen *Baharinath* hill towering aloft. The Aji river flows to the right at a distance of twelve miles, running parallel to the Damuda; it is navigable, in the rains, ninety miles from its confluence with the Bhagirathi.

By Christmas, 1854, the Railway will be completed. By that time a fine hotel will be established here—which will make the place a kind of Hampton Court for Ditchers on holidays, when, after a pleasant journey of five hours, they will be landed at the foot of the hills, and be able to realize enjoyments to which the denizens of the Mahratta Ditch are now quite strangers.

A little beyond this, the region of the hills begins—the *Switzerland* of Bengal, the future scene of mineral and metallic enterprize for this country. These hills, once the seats of Buddhist shrines and monasteries, with their contemplative residents and chaunting priests, are destined yet to be the abodes of a bustling, noisy, mining population, to be the Cornwall of Bengal, when the name *Kaila Desh*, or coal country, will be much more applicable than its present one, of *Bahar*, the land of Buddhist monks. The Damuda coal field alone embraces an area of seventy square miles, having 300 feet in thickness of coals. Those hills continue for 140 miles, on to the foot of the Dhanwá pass, a land of hill and dale, wood and water, abounding in scenery, interesting to the geologist, and lover of the picturesque; the climate also changes, the nights are cool and clear,

the damp and fog of Calcutta are left behind. When the Railway, which, after many blunderings and delays, is hastening its completion, shall land the inhabitant of Calcutta, who has been for years inhaling the sultry and fetid atmosphere of the Ditch, in five hours, in the land of the mountain and dell—we anticipate a great extension to the pleasures of a residence in India. To the sportsman also it is not devoid of interest, as the district of Pachete, with its trap hills, swarms with tigers and bears, the destruction of which would be a real act of kindness to the defenceless natives. *Palamow, Sirguja, Chota Nagpur*, and *Pachete*, will afford various subjects of interest to the tourist in connection with their aboriginal tribes, primeval forests and rude border chieftains, who, like the lords of the Rhine, or the Rob Roys of Scotland, exercised their predatory habits on all defenceless persons who came within their reach ; and we trust the knowledge of their condition will also call out the sympathies of the Christian philanthropist. There are, in Behar and Bengal, 150,748 villages, two-thirds of which have a system of vernacular education, but based on superstition. Will a Government, which draws a revenue of twenty millions from India, do nothing to give an improved tone to these ? The coal mines and Railway, by giving employment, will have a civilizing effect on the people, and will thus give an impulse to education.

We enter now on a new state of things. Instead of the cunning, cheating Bengali, destitute of any real feeling of patriotism, we meet with a nobler and more independent race. The language of Bengal gives way to the Hindi and Urdu, the manners of the people are more manly, frank, and European, the soil alters, the alluvium of Bengal is no more found—eight centuries ago, this country was Buddhist, and Jain monarchs ruled—the language, Magadhi or Pali, a daughter of the Sanskrit, which is now the sacred language of Ceylon and Burmah, was then used here. On this interesting subject much information may be gleaned from *Fa Hian's Travels* in Bengal in the fourth century, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society. (See also the *Calcutta Review*, No. VIII.—*Indian Buddhism*.) The present state of it is as different from the past as is that of Judea now from what it was in the days of Solomon. Bahar is now a place of ruins :—crumbling temples, remains of granite columns, towers, palaces, cities, are found in districts now quite wild and depopulated. Even the site of Palibathra has been assigned to four different localities. Bengal, which in Mogul days was a Botany Bay, is in the ascendant, with its city of palaces and hovels, while *Gaya, Rajgriha*, and *Bahar*, are only

names and shadows of the past. Bahar, which once sent Buddhism from its bosom, supplied Gautama as a law-giver to Ceylon and Burmah, and became the cradle of Chinese Buddhism, is now “in the sere and yellow leaf,”—but we trust railroads will open out such a country to the sympathies of Christian minds—now all is darkness. It sends opium to poison the Chinese. For an account of the manufacture of Bahar opium, see *Eatwell's Report, Selections of the Bengal Government, No. I.*

The hills assume a wavy appearance; if one could conceive one of those immense rollers at the Cape suddenly frozen, it would give an idea of this swelling of the ground,—the road reminds one very much of those great military routes constructed by Napoleon in France. The soil is gravelly, and only low jungle to be seen, while to the West, conical isolated hills rise to the height of a thousand feet—a welcome sight to him who has been “long in populous cities spent.” Along with this the atmosphere becomes more bracing and cool, and free from the Calcutta damp. Some collieries appear on the right—symbols of the future changes in this now desolate district.

The soil is poor, but it contains within its bosom the germs of great improvement for this neglected country; the mineral resources will draw European settlers here, increase trade, schools will rise, and, we trust, the hopes of Christianity will follow in their train, and that missionaries will take one hint from the example of the Buddhist propagandists in this country—act more on the agricultural population, and adopt an extensive course of itinerant preaching. The coal mines will make the district another Cornwall.

The *Nunia* suspension bridge, a few miles East of Assensole, is a splendid erection, over a khal which drains 150 square miles of country.

On approaching the *Barrakur*, the road passes over an iron-stone district. On the eastern bank, close to the road, are three remarkable temples.

The *Barrakur* river, a bed of sand in the dry season, but navigable for boats of 600 maunds in the rains, is crossed at the 146th mile; it divides Pachete from Birbhumi. This river rises in the hills of *Házaribhág*, and crossing the trunk road West of *Burhi*, runs parallel to it at the distance of fourteen miles nearly. To the North of it is a fine country, abounding with rich valleys—a full account of them is given by Dr. McLelland, in his *Geological Survey of India*. Santals, Lohars, Ghatwals, and other Hindu tribes, occupy them. Fine timber could be

procured from these districts. Dr. McLelland gives a list of 492 different sorts of plants which he found in this quarter. The Barrakur joins the Damuda a few miles South of the road. The Pachete Mountain rises beyond, presenting a noble appearance from the river, towering in its dim outline to the height of 1,900 feet, compared by the natives to the shape of an elephant's back.

Taldanga, 148 miles, is near the western limit of the coal basin of the Damuda valley; to the South of it, a few miles, are hot springs in a coal district. A short distance beyond Taldanga, the junction of the sandstone and gneiss rock, forming the elevated table-land of Upper Bengal, is passed over. The jungle here is composed chiefly of thorny bushes of *zizyphus*; the twigs of the *butea frondosa* are covered with "lurid red tears of lac," which is collected here in abundance, from this plant. The coal crops out here at the surface, and many fine fossils have been obtained. According to Everest (*Gleanings of Science*, 1831, p. 133,) these eminences were once, like Europe, islands of primitive rocks, rising in the middle of a large ocean; the debris formed beds of humus, out of which vegetables grew and formed the present soil. As in all coal districts, the soil is barren.

On a clear day Parasnath can be seen from Taldanga, rising majestically with its conical peak.—The Sinai of the Jains, being to them what Adam's peak is to the pilgrims of the Cinnamon Isle.

A few miles beyond Taldanga, we leave the sand-stone, in which the coal lies, and come to a district of primary rocks—the roads are mended with quartz. The country still rises, and hills appear more numerous, until we reach *Bagsama*, the residence of a Deputy-Magistrate. We catch a glimpse of Parasnath, towering far above all the minor hills, in the form of a cone, with a rugged peak. The view is favoured by the clear dry atmosphere of those regions. *Bagsama* is right in the centre of the Tiger district, and is situated in *Pachete*,* a *terra incognita*, having a curious class of aborigines, fond of eating rats. *Dr. Hooker's Notes* give an interesting view of the botany and geology of this district.

Fitcori, 170 miles from Calcutta, is 1,050 feet above the sea level. Five miles from it, at *Rajafuta*, a new road branches off to *Chota Nagpur*. Another road is being made from *Rajafuta*, passing *Chakya*, to connect the Chota Nagpur road with the Ganges at *Surajghur*. The coal fields at *Kahurbali* are

* *Bagsama* is put down in the maps as part of the Birbhum district.

also to be connected with the Ganges by a branch road to Chukra.

A little beyond this we enter the *Ramghur* district, wild and rocky, once noted for the border raids of its chieftains—at the head of whom was the Raja of Chota Nagpur—the road here was dreaded as much by travellers, as Black Heath was in the days of our fore-fathers ; the zemindars levied their black mail, and entrenched in their jungle fastnesses, bade defiance to the British troops. Dr. Buchanan states, that the Cheros, an aboriginal tribe who lived in Ramghur and the Shahabad hills, were “once lords paramount of the Gangetic provinces”—it would be interesting to examine the data for this statement. This district is rich in iron and coal.

Tope-chanchi bungalow, 188 miles from Calcutta, 1,128 feet above the sea level, lies at the foot of *Parasnath*. The scenery around is charming ; in fact, we have seen few places to equal it in this respect ; it is embosomed in an amphitheatre of beautifully wooded mountains. The traveller should endeavour to leave this place early in the morning, or three hours before sunset, so as to have the pleasure of the views along the road, winding round the base of *Parasnath*, “giant of mountains,” which assumes new aspects of beauty and sublimity, according as the curves in the road alter the prospect. *Parasnath* will, very probably, some years hence, be a favorite excursion for Calcutta people, when they can steal away for a few days from business, to luxuriate in its quiet and magnificent scenery. Bears abound in the neighbourhood of *Tope-chanchi*. Dr. Hooker gives a full account of the botany of the hills near this.

Near the village of *Lal Bag*, beyond *Tope-chanchi*, ten bearers and a dhuli can be obtained for about five rupees to convey the traveller, through a series of wooded ravines, to the foot of *Parasnath*, which is very close to the road. The ascent is very steep and rocky ; and about 800 feet from the top there is, on this side a large and handsome temple, with a marble floor and altar, and a hollow dome ; near it is the only spring on the mountain : descending to the North you have a longer distance to go, it is less steep and more undulating ; there are many fine trees, and the views are very grand ; next appears the Jain monastery. At the foot of the hill, you pass through the rocky beds of dry torrents, amid gloomy glens, over-arched with foliage, with green schist and hornblende shooting up through the ground, while, in the distance, rise the domes of the Jain temples of *Muddaband* ; near them is a fine banyan, a sacred tree with the Jains. Madavan,

Jain village, is embosomed in a clearance of the forest, one of those romantic dales, which intersect the ground between the road and the foot of Parasnath, reminding one of a similar romantic seclusion for religieuses at Port Royal, near Paris. The Jain establishment here is much frequented at the season of pilgrimage, in March, when 100,000 people assemble; in the temple is a black image of Parasnath, having seven expanded heads of a cobra as his canopy. Some of the priests have cloths over their mouths, to prevent their swallowing insects, and thus destroying life. This temple was built by Jagat Set, the great Jain merchant of Murshidabad, in the time of Clive, who was worth ten crores of rupees—there is here *Khetraphal*, a deity with a lion's head—we saw the images of Chakreswari and Padmavati also, which are worshipped by the Jains.

Parasnath, a mass of granite, is a spur of the Rajmahal hills, and towers to the height of 4,233 feet. All who have made the ascent unite in enthusiastic admiration of the scenery, in such admirable contrast with the monotonous flat of Bengal. It will be a mighty boon to the people of Calcutta, when they can get to Parasnath in a few hours, at an expense of twenty-five rupees.

Parasnath is the eastern metropolis of Jain worship, as Abu in Rajputana is the western one. Crowds of Jain pilgrims, from all parts of India, resort to this place. They climb to the mountain top, direct from Muddabund, in order to visit the spot where Parasnath, one of their herogods, obtained *nirvan*, or emancipation from matter. As the Hindus attach great respect to the print of Vishnu's foot, so do the Jains, a sect which arose on the ruins of Buddhism, about the eleventh century, to the foot of Parasnath. For an accurate and compendious account of the Jains, see *Elphinstone's India*. Franklin, in his *Researches on the Jains and Buddhists*, gives us an account of Parasnath, with a beautiful drawing of its temple-crowned hills.

The ascent occupied Dr. Hooker five hours and a half, the descent three-quarters of an hour, in a *dhuli*, part of it down stairs of sharp rock.

Parasnath seems likely, ere long, to be famous for the mineral resources in its neighbourhood. To the North of it lies the great coal field of *Kurakdea*; *Kurhurbali* is to its North-east, having a coal field, four miles from East to West, and two from North to South, 800 feet above the sea level.

● On the road to Dumri, may be observed the *cisalpina paniculata* climber “ festooning the trees, a magnificent climber, with deep green leaves, and gorgeous racemes of orange blossoms.” *Dumri* bungalow, 202 miles,—according to Hooker,

1,429 feet above the sea level, is beautifully situated, surrounded by an amphitheatre of wood-crowned hills of gneiss, horn-blende, schist and quartz; tin ore is found at fourteen miles distant, while at Karrakdya, twenty miles North, immense masses of mica are procurable, which sell for four rupees per maund; three-fourths of the mica used in Bengal is brought from this place. Nilgaus abound in the forests here, the *antelope picta*, about the size of an ox, with sloping back and short horns.

At Bagoda, 214 miles, is the bombax tree with its buttressed trunk; the road winds beautifully along, the hills are clad with *Gemelina*, *Terminalia*, *Buchaniana*; "birds abound here, among others, the mohoka (*phænecophaeus tristis*.) a walking cuckoo, with a voice like that of its English name-sake." The views to the East are magnificent.

We come to Belcuppie, 226 miles; 300 yards from the road are four hot springs, they rise in little ruined brick tanks, about six feet across. There is a tank here twelve feet in diameter, supplied by a cold spring, which flows between two hot ones; they all meet and flow together into one large tank; one of them is hot enough to boil eggs, and has a horrid nauseous taste, reminding one of the waters of Aix-la-Chapelle—salt is deposited. Dr. Hooker found the temperature of the hot springs to be 169°, 170°, 173° and 190°, while that of the cold spring in their immediate neighbourhood was 75°. Various plants grow in the water. A water-beetle abounded at a temperature of 112°, and frogs were very active at 90°.

The Burkutta river is a large stream in the rains, carrying along gneiss and granite boulders.

Barshatti, 240 miles, is noted for its magnificent topes of mango, banyan, and peepul trees: *borassia*, a kind of palm trees, are to be seen here eighty feet high. Their lower part is a short cone, tapering to one-third the height of the stem, the trunk to two-thirds. The Indian *olibanum* tree is here "conspicuous for its pale bark and curving branches, leafy at their apices." A fragrant and transparent gum exudes from its trunk.

Burhi has, three miles to the East, the Barrakur bridge, a noble stone edifice of nine arches, each of fifty feet span. To the North of Burhi are copper, lead, mica, and iron mines. A little beyond Burhi, the road is 1,524 feet above the sea level; we then pass the bed of the Barrakur, a river which is an affluent of the Dainuda; after this, excepting the Dhunwa Pass, we have no more of the wooded hills, which continued for 120 miles, indicating thus that the table-land is near its termination.

Near *Champaran*, 257 miles, and 1,526 feet above the sea, is the commencement of the *Dhunwa Pass*. *Champaran* is 1,311 feet above the sea level : from this the Ramghur table-land, which has had wooded hills for 120 miles, begins to stoop to the Behar plains below, which extend in one uniform level to the foot of the Himalayas. The *Dhunwa Pass* leads to the valley of the *Soane*; the road is steep, carried in a zigzag direction down a broken hill of gneiss, six miles, with a descent of nearly 1,000 feet ; of this 600 are very rugged and steep, constructed by the sappers and miners in 1836-37. The pass is well wooded, abounds in quartz and felspar ; the scenery is picturesque, and quite novel to a Bengali. The following trees are in the passes here :—*acacia*, *butea*, *cassia*, *bombax*, *argemone mexicana*, and also the *calotropis* or purple *madar*, much used in cases of leprosy. *Dhunwa dâk bungalow*, 265 miles from Calcutta, at the foot of the mountain, is 1,000 feet below the mountain top, and yet 817 feet above the sea level. The views from it are very beautiful, an amphitheatre of wood-capped hills, the continuation of a chain stretching from Cambay to Rajmahal. The *bambu* here is green, whereas at a higher level, it is yellow or white—wild peacocks are in the woods—some large and handsome stone bridges are at the foot of the pass, that at *Bhawa* is a very fine one, and crosses the *Mohana* torrent with five arches of sixty-five feet span each.

The approach to *Shirgati* is lined with trees of the *bombax*, *acacia*, and *borassus genera*, while here and there the poppy is cultivated : on the tops of some of the hills are to be seen telegraphs erected in the time of the Mahratta war, to communicate between our troops and Calcutta. *Shirgati*, or the Tiger Pass, is now a poor place, containing 1,090 houses, the largest town on the road next to *Burdwan*; previous to 1834 it was the civil station—and the old Calcutta road, via *Vishnupur* and the *Dhungye Pass*, came out here : “tortuous and water worn” the first road was along the *Ganges* route. It is built on an island of the *Fulgo* river, which flows from *Gaya*. The remains of tombs and mosques indicate a period of former greatness, probably in the days of *Shir Shah*, a Bahar man, who became Emperor of Delhi, but did not forget his native country. The town lies to the North of the Trunk Road, near it is an old mud fort, built in 1764. The *Lilajan* bridge, seven miles East of *Shirgati*, is deserving of notice, built entirely of stone, the largest bridge on the road, having fifteen arches of fifty feet span each.

A road, twenty-two miles long, passable for a carriage, runs from *Shirgati* to *Gaya*, the central spot for Hindu and Jain pilgrimage

—the paradise of 15,000 priestly impostors, noted for their extortions, tying the thumbs of pilgrims together, who do not yield to their demands. The Government formerly derived half a lakh yearly by the pilgrim tax. It is a singular fact that when Gaya was attacked by the Mahrattas, those priests formed themselves into regiments and repulsed them. Noted of late for its opium cultivation, it is still the Jerusalem of the Jains. *Martin's Eastern India* furnishes a full description of this place, and of the whole district of Shahabad, of the city of Bahar, with its old fort and mosques, and of *Rajgriha*, with its Buddhist caves.

At Shirkati, the old road from Calcutta to Benares, called forty years ago the new road, a curiosity with its bridges, now in the midst of fields, converges, forming from this to Benares one line with the present one ; travellers by dâk, forty years ago, had to hire tom-tom-men to keep off the tigers, while guards were stationed at different places to frighten away the dakoits. When the rail opens out to Patna, the traveller from Calcutta to Delhi coming down might return via Patna, Monghyr, and Rajmahal. The population of Patna, in 1837, was 284,132.

Beyond Shirkati, a range of low hills, spurs of the Vindhya, runs parallel on the left; "they are of volcanic rocks, greenstone and syenite, apparently forcing up the beds of quartz and gneiss from below. *Calotropis* and *argemone* are immensely abundant, with a purple *solanum*, *veronica*, *anagallis*, *equisetum*, *trichocentria indica*, *borageeæ*, *labiateæ*." Gums and medicinal herbs are procured from the woods here, as also the tusser silk from the osan tree ; the shell of the chrysalis of the tusser worm is so strong, as to be used for binding matchlock-barrels to their stocks. Half the area of this zillah is occupied with hills and jungle. In the great famine of 1770, one-third of the population of Bahar died ; men eating men, and mothers their children—hence the jungle increased from depopulation, as was the case in the Sunderbunds. Round Shirkati, however, 225 villages have been re-peopled.

Madanpur dâk bungalow, 14 miles West of Shirkati, has a picturesque and antique locality ; three miles from it are the temples and ruins of *Umga*, described by Major Kittoe, (*Asiatic Journal*, 1847.) There are fifty-two small temples ; the great temple of Jagannath, 400 years old, is sixty feet high. There are Cufic inscriptions over the gateway—the old ruined palace, tank, and town of Umga—the hills around capped with small temples, are novelties here.

There is a handsome suspension bridge over the Pompon river, four miles East of the Soane ; the village of Seris on the Pompon, about one mile North of the road, is worth a visit, as being most picturesque.

Crossing the Soane, we enter the zillah of *Shahabad*, the ancient Kikata. A full account of this is given in *Buchanan's Eastern India*, also in *Traver's Statistics of Shahabad*. It contains a population of 1,602,274, yielding a revenue of Rs. 1,394,396 out of 2,425,058 acres, of which one-sixth is uncultivated or unculturable. There are 8,936 villages—no Government schools of any kind.

The *Soane* river, called by Arrian the third in rank of the Indian rivers, is crossed at Barroon, 557 feet above the sea level; we pass it by fording and ferrying ; it takes two and a half hours to go over, being three miles wide ; the ghari being drawn by six oxen through deep beds of sand—a regiment takes twenty-four hours—it reminds one of the sands of the Egyptian desert ; its quicksands are very treacherous : a causeway, 150 feet in length, composed of large slabs of sandstone, is now being constructed, as an experiment, in the middle of the river. The traveller ought to cross either in the morning or evening, so as to have the sublime view of sunrise or sunset behind the *Rhotas* hills, illuminating at the same time *Rhotas*, once the impregnable fortress of Shir Shah, and *Sasseram* his burial place. The *Soane* rises in the mountain of *Gandwana*, from the same fount as the *Nerbudda*. The *Soane*, “the only tributary of the Ganges that is not snow-born,” has a course of 500 miles ; it was called the *Hiraneyabaha*, by the ancients, who supposed that, like the Tagus, it rolled down sands of gold ; however, pretty pebbles, jasper and agate, are to be found in it, carried down from the *Vindya* hills. (See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XIV., p. 399). Though not carrying gold, yet, we trust, the coal mines found out in Palemow, on the *Kayla*, one of its tributaries, will bring in golden treasures. Pliny and Arrian mention this river, and probably, in former days, it may have washed down gold from some California in the hills.

Rhotas, 1,759 feet above the sea, is a spur of the Kymore range, a branch of the *Vindya* mountains which run from Chunar to Cambay,—the ancient mountain retreats of the Bhils and other aboriginal tribes, their fastnesses against the ruthless arm of Brahminical persecution. Stretching along Orissa, Berar and the *Nerbudda*, they formed an inaccessible retreat ; the scenery is very fine in the midst of the picturesque valley of the *Soane*, lined with wooded hills, a favorite excursion for tourists from Mirzapur and Benares. (See *Benares Magazine*, and *Martin's Eastern India*, Vol. I., pp. 432—454, for an account of the *Soane* valley, and of the ruined palace of Shir Shah, erected 1539, with its high galleries, long cool arcades and terraced walks, embosomed in an amphitheatre of wooded hills.) It has been compared to Rasselias' Happy Valley. *Mán Sing*, so

well known in Bengali history, erected many buildings on it, and it was a place of security for treasure and women : it was a place of refuge for 200 years. Aurungzeb destroyed the idols : see a drawing in *Martin*, Vol. I., p. 439. Shir Shah designed to make his native country the seat of Empire, and Shergar his citadel, but after Humayun's army were obliged to leave Bengal through its unhealthiness, Shir Shah became Emperor of India, in 1540, but Hunayun threw all his children from its precipitous heights. Thus ended the Patan rule. Rohitas, who first settled at Rhotas, was an ancestor of the great Rama. Catechu trees abound here, also peacocks.

At the village of *Dhiri*, on the opposite bank, is a lonely grave-yard, which contains the tombs of some Europeans who, probably, met their death in the Soane, which in the rains rolls a torrent three miles wide and ten feet deep. Here horses or vehicles may be procured for a trip to *Rhotas*, through a well-cultivated country. A precipitous cliff, 100 feet high, rises from the plains ; the road in this and various other parts has been raised, in consequence of the fall of water from the hills having been found to have been much greater than was at first thought.

Sassaram, a city of Musulman tombs, has a population of 10,000—*Sassaram* means a thousand play-things, and is said to have derived this name from a certain Asur who resided there, who had a thousand arms, and on each a different toy. Jungle ceases here, and the scenery is fine, wooded hills and table-land in the distance, but its great object of interest is the tomb of Shir Shah, the “tiger king.” A native of this place, though the son of a Patan zemindar, he rose by his energies to be Emperor of India, in 1540—he lies buried here in the midst of a tank, a mile in circumference, in a tomb composed of a large octagonal hall, covered by a dome, and surrounded by a gallery. His rival, Humayun, Akbar's father, whom he drove from the throne, lies in Delhi. The king is buried in the centre of the great hall, opposite the kibla or prayer niche, having a small column at the head. His favorite officers are buried at their master's feet. A drawing is given of this tomb in *Martin's Eastern India*, Vol. I., p. 425 ; half a mile North-west is the tomb of his son Selim, but the family were killed by the Moguls, and thus the visions of having a second Delhi vanished :—see Elphinstone's Sketch of Shir Shah.

Shir Shah erected a handsome tomb to his father Haseyn ; had he lived, he intended to have made *Sassaram* another Delhi, and Shahabad the seat of Empire, but Bahar has never risen to note. Shir Shah, however, introduced the rupee coinage, and that still remains. (For a full description of *Sassaram* and its

monuments, see *Martin's Eastern India*, Vol. I., pp. 422--430).

Sasseram has public baths of ancient date.

The Pergannah of Sasseram contains 898 villages, 409,646 acres, of which one-quarter are uncultivated or barren.

From Sasseram to Agra we have the sandstone formation.

Jahanabad, 365 miles, has a serai of brick and stone, built by Shir Shah.

Kharamabad has a mosque, built 250 years ago, by Mir Akbar, collector of revenue in Jehangir's time.

The *Karmanasa* bridge, of free stone, finished in 1831, designed by J. Prinsep, of oriental celebrity, is a noble monument to the memory of the munificent native Raja Putni Mul, of Benares. The same man re-built a temple at Mathura, which cost 70,000 Rs., made a stone tank there at a cost of three lakhs, a well at Jwala-mukhi, which cost 90,000 Rs. : he spent 90,000 Rs. on a Ghāt and temple at Hardwar; 60,000 Rs. on a serai at Brindavan: on these and other public works he spent eight lakhs, for which Lord W. Bentinck made him a Raja. He has recorded, in four languages, on this bridge, the fact of his erecting it; the foundation had been previously laid by the prime minister of Puna, who spent three lakhs on it—the sand being twenty feet deep. The *Karmanasa* flows from the Rhotas Hills, rises thirty feet in the rains, and is 300 feet broad. (See *Benares Magazine*, Vol. II., p. 253, also *Gleanings in Science*, October, 1831.) An account of the *Karmanasa* bridge is given in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. V., p. 304.

When we consider the superstitious dread entertained by the natives, of the touch of the *Karmanasa* waters, we can understand what a boon this bridge has been to them. Their *Puranas* state, that when *Ravan* was besieged in Lunka, he was promised deliverance, provided he could bring from Kailas a *linga*, without its touching the ground; he attempted to do so, but Varuna entering his stomach, he felt so unpleasant, that he dropped the linga on the ground, and the impure water which flowed, constituted the *Karmanasa* river, which means merit-destroying, as the *Puranas* state, that though a native, by visiting Benares, is sure of heaven, yet if he touches the water of this river, all the efficacy of the Ganges water is lost. This river rises in the romantic region of the Mirzapur highlands, and has some fine water-falls.

Near the Bungalow are to be seen some mounds in memory of widows burned here.

The *Karmanasa* is the boundary of the Bengal and Bahar Government,—the ancient *Práchii*, whose capital was Pálibathrá (Patna) ten miles, of note even in Greek days, whose dominion

extended from Gaur to the Indus. Our recollections of Bahar are painful—the noble country of Bahar, whose energetic population formerly sent Buddhist priests to propagate their faith throughout Burnah, Ceylon, China, Tartary, Nepal and the Eastern Archipelago—is now herself totally neglected by a Christian Government, as far as educational efforts are concerned. *Adam's Reports* on the state of Vernacular education in Bahar, in 1834, present a gloomy picture; since that time no measures have been taken to redress that state of things.

Passing the *Karmanasa* bridge, we enter the jurisdiction of the North West Provinces; it forms the West frontier of Bahar, formerly it was the boundary of the Anglo-Indian dominion. We soon see the vast superiority in point of administration between the North West Provinces and Bengal: everything indicates that the Lieutenant-Governor is acquainted with the condition of the people, whereas in Bengal, Calcutta is taken as the type of the country, and no decided steps have been as yet taken by Government to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry by education.

There are 1,547 policemen stationed on the Trunk Road between the *Karmanasa* and Delhi, not like the old Charleys, to sleep away their time, but located in stations on the road, to patrol all night. (See *Selections, N. W. Provinces*, No. XI., p. 24.)

One signal benefit has been seen from this police regulation of 1848—the land along the Grand Trunk Road has been in the greatest demand, and every sort of produce has risen in value, whereas the localities were formerly shunned by all classes of people.

The difference in elevation of ground between the North West Provinces and "green Bengal" is soon perceptible—in the North West Provinces every thing has a parched-up appearance, the little grass left is dry and withered—water is procured from very deep wells, there are no tanks, and the tall white grass of the North West Provinces shoots out to the height of six feet.

The road approaching to *Benares*, "the classic city of India," a picture in miniature of ancient *Bháratbarsha*, is lined with trees, and soon the river front, forming the outer line of a semi-circle capped with temple and tower, bursts on the view—on one side of the river is the old buttressed fortress of Ramnagar, the residence of the Raja of Benares, rising castle-like from the waters; on the other, a crescent of magnificent stone-ghâts, mingled with palace and temple, stretches three miles in extent, and its Tartar edifices, with river

banks forty feet high, and Aurungzeb's minarets towering 232 feet, over-looking the trisuls of Siva : reminding one of the descriptions travellers give of the approach to Moscow, and the first view of the Kremlin. At *Raj Ghât* we cross over the ferry ; the river here is not one-half the breadth of the Hugli at Calcutta, but is fifty feet deep, rising forty-three feet in the rains, with a current of eight miles an hour ; its bed is 300 feet higher than that of the river at Rajmahal, the landing place is steep, and has a melancholy association. In 1850 occurred the catastrophe of the explosion of gunpowder on board of boats anchored close to *Raj Ghât*, which shattered the Benares hotel to pieces, and blew down various houses which were perched on the bank ridges, fifty feet high. In the hotel two officers were blown out of the window, while the khidmutgar near them, who was drawing a cork, was killed on the spot. On the right is the old Benares fort, which still contains various remains of antiquity, and probably in former days much of the old city clustered round it. Near it is the Barna, which with the Asi river gave the name Benares ; we pass the Benares hotel and the site of the old fort once covered with houses and temples previous to the Moslem invasion. Remains are still found eighteen feet below the surface of the present city. After a country drive of three miles, Benares being on the left, we arrive at *Sekrole*, the European station, with its widely scattered European houses. Cactuses abound here, being very useful as hedges, as also *parkinsonia* trees, introduced only thirty years ago from Australia, by Colonel Parkinson, but now extensively grown.

The "Shining city" has been so often described, that we merely refer our reader to Heber, or to Prinsep's *Sketches of Benares*, 1831 ; the latter gives us a full detail of the city, with thirty-three lithographic drawings and a map. Tavernier describes Benares in 1668, and Heber in 1825, but the city had not greatly changed in the interval. Prinsep gave a census of Benares in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII., in 1828, showing a population of 180,000, of whom one-fifth were Musalmans.

The feeling on entering Benares is very different from that experienced on approaching Calcutta, a half-anglicised city, with its natives on the rage for English imitation in everything. One is here thrown on purely oriental scenes ; its 50,000 foreign devotees give one the different types of the Hindu race. To the reader of the *Kâshikanda*, a mythological history of Benares in Sanskrit and Bengali, Benares calls forth a host of associations.

The city is the paradise of pigeons, and parrots, bulls and beggars, devotees and misers ; the bulls however are not very annoy-

ing now : its walls, like those of Puna, have “ sermons in stones.” The *Chauk* or square is interesting, with its variety of Musalman slippers, Hindu *lukahs*, children’s toys, Patna wax candles, Bhagalpur silks, kinkabs, idols, &c.

The *Observatory* rises over the river, and was erected in the time of Jay Singha, raja of *Jaipur*, in Akbar’s days,—no Jaipur princes, as in Tavernier’s days, study astronomy there now ; the temple of *Visheshwar*, glittering with its gold leaf, rises near it, a temple which has been enriched in former days by donations of krores of rupees ; one raja, in 1838, gave half a lakh of rupees, which he placed on the head of the idol : this temple is said to occupy the site of the throne filled by Siva 100 million of years ago. In it are an image of *Surya*, or the sun, with his seven-headed horses ; there are bells from Nepal ; the holy well into which Siva is said to have jumped when the Moslems took Benares ; another well, a mineral one, is pointed out, into which Siva tumbled when he took a glass too much, and tipping his physician with his drugs over too, he gave the waters ever since a medicinal taste ; it is called *Gyan Bapi*, being said to have the power of conferring knowledge. *Aurungzeb*’s mosque, built with the ruins of a famous Hindu temple, which he demolished about 1660, when he displayed his iconoclastic fury in Benares, and insulted Hindu families, by thus giving an opportunity of surveying all their terraces. The two minarets, eight feet and a quarter in diameter, are ascended by steep stairs to the height of 147 feet ; the view from the top is very commanding, and reminds one of the scene in Le Sage’s *Diable Boiteux*, when the whole city is exposed to view by the demon.

The tanks are interesting from their associations, such as *Manikarna Ghat*, adjacent to a tank dug by Vishnu himself, who obtained, by his austerities here, the privilege of *Mukti* for Benares, the impressions of his foot are still pointed out ;—*Durga-kund* and its swarms of monkeys ;—the *Mandakini talao*, from the borders of which a pretty view is obtained—when drained thirty years ago, 1,500 sacred turtles were found in it, some weighing 200 lbs. The *Kapildhand talao*, in which the gods are said formerly to have bathed, the liquid being the milk of one of the heavenly cows. The *Bukrea khund*, near which the Hindus probably fought in defence of Benares against the Moslems, whose tombs are strewed around ; the Hindus say that a girl near this was raised to be a songster in heaven, for her attachment to a kid given by Siva, while the kid was born again as daughter to the Raja of Benares.

There are 1,000 temples of Siva, each of which has to be visited, in order to complete the *Nagar pradakshina*, hence the

proverb to illustrate the prominent features of worship at Benares, Allahabad and Gya, *Kasi hunde, Prayag munde, Gya dunde*. At Kasi, keep moving, at Prayag shave, at Gya pay.

In the *Bengali-tola* there is a Bengali population of about 8,000, they print a Bengali newspaper there, and have two Bengali presses.

But the great modern architectural curiosity of Benares is the Government College, (designed and executed by that zealous Oriental scholar, Major Kittoe, whose recent death has been an irreparable loss)—a gem in building, the finest modern edifice in north India: it cost one lakh and a half, not including convict labor. Its fountains, stained glass, and library rich in oriental lore, will ever render it a subject of interest.

The old Sanskrit college was founded in 1801, January 11. This college was opened by the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Thomason, a man who has done so much for the people of the North West Provinces, both in education and the improvement of the country. His speech on that occasion was a fine exposition of the sentiments of the enlightened governor.

Benares, the residence of Tulsi Das, the Milton of Hindi, will, we trust, through this college take the lead as the fount for Hindi literature. The pundits here we found to be a superior class of men, they translated for us a portion of *Lewis's History of Philosophy*, into Hindi; and we were quite delighted at the exquisite precision with which they translated the English philosophic terms into Hindi, borrowing from the Sanskrit. The exertions of Dr. Ballantyne, in connection with this Sanskrit College, have been attended with signal success, in proving the use of Sanskrit as an intellectual agent, to bring the science of the Eastern and Western worlds into a closer alliance, and in teaching the pundits to proceed from the known to the unknown. See *Ballantyne's Sketch of the Operations in the Benares College*, 1846-51.

Sekrole is the European station—Buddhist remains have been found here; instead of these we have now there the Church Mission Station of *Sigra*, "with its orphan-schools, native Christians, and a Church, the pulpit is finely carved in trellis work. The native Christian women execute neat specimens of worsted work: book binding is also carried on. Part of the compound was once the scene of *thugi* operations, and in it a deep well is pointed out, into which the bodies of the victims used to be precipitated. See an interesting little work, *Leupold's Recollections of an Indian Missionary*, which gives full particulars of this station, and of Benares generally, written in a lively style, full of the details of an experienced man.

Bhelapur was of note in Buddhist times, it was the birth place of the famous Parasnath, who was buried on the mountain which bears his name, and a famous Jain temple is still there ; it is now noted for Jay Narayan Ghosal's Free School, founded in 1818, and made over by the babu, a zealous Sivite, to the Church Missionary Society, with an endowment yielding 200 Rs. monthly, the Government giving 250 Rs. more. There are 500 boys in it, and we were glad to see that Oriental studies have their due attention paid them.

Some handsome Jain temples are to be seen in Benares, as a number of rich merchants belong to that sect.

Starting for the raja of Benares' country-seat, Ramnagar, four miles from the city, associated with the history of Cheyt Sing and Warren Hastings, we pass by *Durga khand*, noted for its numerous monkeys, which are to be seen in all directions gamboling about. Coming to the ghat opposite Ramnagar, we land close by the buttressed battlements of the raja's castellated palace ; the building rises abruptly from the river banks, and has seven courts, corresponding to the seven planets—once designed to have been the nucleus of a city, the rival of Benares, and called Vyás Káshi. Those who die here, are said to be transformed into asses ;—hence all the raja's family, when dying, are conveyed to Benares. Two miles distant, in the midst of the raja's gardens, is a Hindu temple, sculptured beautifully in reliefo, with images of the Hindu gods and goddesses,—a pantheon in stone, erected by Cheyt Sing ;—near it is a magnificent stone tank, made some fifty years ago, by Cheyt Sing, having on one side a beautiful stone pavilion, a favourite spot for picnic parties ; persons can sleep here—the river view of Benares is fine from this. This is the most beautiful tank we have seen in North India, its corners are adorned by kiosks, while splendid flights of stone steps on all sides lead down to the water. A Hindu drama, the Ram Lila, is annually performed in these grounds, some of the figures in which are seventy feet high. (See *Calcutta Christian Observer*, 1838, pp. 260 and 261.)

Jaychand, raja of Benares, was killed in battle, by Kutab-ud-deen, the first Moslem invader, who levelled 1,000 Hindu temples to the ground in Benares ; this Jaychand was recognised on the field of battle by his artificial teeth, which were fixed with wedges of gold. The present raja's title dates only from 1730, his ancestor being the famous Cheyt Sing of Warren Hastings' days, whose arrest by the latter excited such a sensation, that Hastings had to make his escape out of a window from Benares. Cheyt Sing's father was Bulwat Sing, a fierce ruler, who like an Irish landlord, drove the zemindars away from his estates.

A return from Ramnagar to Raj Ghat will unfold the panorama of the river to great perfection—the *murhis* or cells into which the dying are removed, that their sins to the last moment may be washed away in Ganges water. *Manikarna Ghat*, and the temples built by Alia Baye;—*Rajrajaswari Ghat*, with its mixture of Moorish and Hindu architecture; the projecting balcony at the *Man Mandal*, the oldest masonry in Benares—the *Dasasvamedh Ghat*;—the gigantic figure of Bhim Sing, who is said to have built Chunar in a day;—conical altars, with the tulsi plant on them;—and the fakirs with their flags supplying Ganges water—all these afford sights of interest. The Ganges has not spared the temples devoted to its worship, the Bazaar Bhaís Ghat, which cost fifteen lakhs, was swept away by the river sixteen years ago. These ghats and temples may share the fate of Nuddea and Rajmahal, once noble cities, but now entombed in the river.

Crossing over the *Berna*, near which we have a view of the house where Mr. Cherry, in 1799, defended himself single handed for two hours, against a whole host of the Nawab's troops, we pass over the *Pulzaggar* bridge, a fine piece of masonry work and come to the asylum founded by Raja Kali Shankar Ghosal, in 1825; he gave 58,000 Rs. to the Calcutta one—the Alms Houses look very pretty. See an account of them in *Selections North West Provinces*, No. XI., p. 59. Passing along the Azimghur road, in a north east direction, we come to the grave yard, which contains some very handsome monuments, erected by Major Kittoe. Here lie the remains of Major Wilford, a man of undying fame as a Sanskrit scholar, who lived at Benares from 1788 to 1822, entirely occupied with antiquarian and geographical investigations in Sanskrit. Beyond is the *Panch Kosí*, a road five koss in circumference, surrounding the city, planted with trees and with halting places for pilgrims, who often make its circuit by measuring their own bodies along it. Whoever dies within this boundary is considered sure of heaven, though he be a beef-cater—it is the *via sacra* of the city. We come after four miles to *Sárnáth*, (the Bull Lord), the Old Buddhist Benáres; few remains are now to be found on the spot; it is sharing the fate of Egypt, supplying with its idols the museums of the Benares college, the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and Major Kittoe's collection. Benares is now the city of 1,000 Sivite temples, the paradise of Brahmins and bulls; but in the eleventh century its rajas were Buddhists, and Sarnath, with its temples, was one of the head quarters of Buddhism. Even the Hindu *Puranas* admit, that Divodasa, in the days of Náred, introduced Buddhism previous to the war

of the Mahabharat, and that subsequently, the Vaishnavas and Shivites carried on a religious war. When Tulsi Das, the famous poet, lived in Benares, A. D. 1574, the site of much of the present Benares was a forest; the decline of Sarnath, and the ascendancy of the Mahrattas, led to the flourishing state of the new city. Excavations are still carried on there by the Government archæologist of the North West Provinces. A brick mound, of conical shape, faced with stones, three feet by two, 9 feet high, is now the chief object of interest, while until lately, numerous statues of men, with flat noses and thick lips, were strewed around. The remains here bear abundant marks of the action of fire, which was very likely applied by the Brahmans, to drive their Buddhist adversaries out; this must have been at a late period, as in 1027 Benares was part of the Gaur kingdom; a Pal prince from Gaur, a Buddhist, ruled and repaired the mound at Sarnath, (see *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V.) The Musalmans also probably aided in its destruction, as in 1192 Rai Jay, king of Kanauj and Benares, of the Pal family, was defeated by them.*

The Trunk Road from Benares to Delhi, a distance of 480 miles, was begun in 1832, under Lord William Bentinck's directions—convict labour being employed; it has few objects of interest; it is as smooth as a bowling green, with a rise of only twenty inches per mile, the want of trees and green verdure to line its sides, forms a marked contrast with the Lower Provinces. You meet with no picturesque plains, no wooded hills, no villages embosomed in palm or cocoanut trees, the greater part is sandy level land, emitting a glare distressing to the eye, though efforts are being made to encourage planting. The young trees are surrounded with mounds of earth, to protect them from the cattle, and in some places a plantain grows close to every tree to cherish it by its moisture. The deep wells indicate the elevation above the sea, the serais in every village note the traffic extensively carried on; crops of cotton, dal, indigo and wheat, are to be seen in their season. The novelties to the resident of Bengal are long lines of *carts*, led by the nose,—vehicles with wheels made out of one solid mass of wood, like those used in the bog districts of Ireland,—women, like the Egyptian ladies, riding astride on horseback,—cattle drawing

* The name of Sarnath calls up an association, connected with the name of a man whose death has been an irreparable loss to antiquarian and architectural science,—Major Kittoe, who will be ever recollected in connection with Buddhistical Researches in Behar and Benares. We spent a day with him at Benares, hearing his remarks on Sarnath, and seeing the curiosities he had accumulated from that place and from Behar: his name will go down to posterity, with that of Prinsep and Wilford.

the water from wells, the water running in channels down an inclined plane, to irrigate the land,—pilgrims to Jagannath,—traders in Ganges water,—cotton clumsily packed in ragged bags, getting dirty and deteriorating every day,—*echas* or two-wheeled carts,—hackeries drawn by three bullocks, one leading,—the women so much superior to those of Bengal,—the men armed with swords at their side, and a brass-studded round buckler at their back, travellers encamping in the heat of day, by a shaded well,—the bullock waggons of Government, which bring in a considerable profit.

Above Allahabad it is calculated that one million tons of goods, 100,000 passengers by vehicles, and 300,000 on foot, annually pass along the Trunk Road.

Seven miles and a half from Benares, is *Mohun he sarai*, a large serai, presenting of an evening the opportunity of seeing Arab, Cabul and Jain merchants. At *Maharajganj* is a road leading to Mirzapur.

The approach to *Allahabad*, seventy-six miles from Benares, is over a road of boards laid along the sands, and then we enter the *Doab*, the Mesopotamia of the north, across a bridge of thirty-six boats, of 1,000 maunds each, not quite so convenient as that over the Rhine at Cologne. In eleven months in one year, the numbers crossing this bridge, amounted to 435,242 foot passengers, and 33,180 on horses and elephants. The town is straggling, and covers a large space of ground intersected with handsome trees and fine gardens, its main object of interest is the *fort*, built by Akbar in a commanding position at the confluence of the yellow waves of the Ganges with the blue Jumna. Though the *Prayag* of antiquity, there are few ruins to interest the traveller. See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XIV., p. 396. The best time to visit Allahabad is in the middle of January, when the pilgrims assemble at the mela held outside the fort, which lasts two months, to bathe in the Triveni and shave themselves—each hair thrown into the water giving them a million years of happiness. Those sands become at this time the paradise of barbers, bringing in a large revenue to them, as no one can bathe until his head and eyebrows are shaved. The pilgrims here are of various castes: *Nagas*, *Ghosains*, *Bairágis* and *Sikhs*. Their tents and temporary shops have a picturesque appearance at this time, while across the river, stretch away the shores of Bundelkund,—noted for its diamonds, which are found a few inches below the surface: to the south is the termination of the Doab.

The *fort* taken by us in 1765, now strongly fortified on Vau-
ban's system, was built in 1581 by Akbar. You enter it by a

magnificent Grecian gate—the old palace of Akbar remains, and is used as an armory ; the armory room is a magnificent one, 272 feet long, containing 50,000 stand of arms, beautifully arranged in three rows, quite equal in ornamental appearance to the armory of the tower of London.

Adjacent to this, is a place of note among the Hindus, called *Pútálpur*, once perhaps above ground. Guided by a light, you descend into a cave lined with Chunar stone, quite dark, its roof about seven feet high, supported by several hundred pillars, and having in various quarters 1,000 idols—a perfect mythological menagerie and a labyrinth. On the left hand side is the stump of the sacred fig tree named *Akshabat*, which, with its dried up trunk, has stood there several hundred years ; the Hindus say it is a favourite haunt for ghosts, and that the *Akshabat* tree has been there from the beginning of time, and will remain there for ever. The *Brahma Purana* promises the happiness of heaven to whoever commits suicide, by throwing himself from its branches, and yet Allahabad (Vaisali) 1,700 years ago, sent Buddhist priests to a convocation in Ceylon ; close to it is an aperture in the wall, which, the Hindus say, leads to a subterranean communication between Allahabad and Delhi. There is a large *linga* here. Near this is the famous Allahabad *lath*, or stone pillar, forty-three feet in length, the inscription, inculcating love to animals, and love to another world, on this pillar, was written by Asoka, three centuries B. C. ; he was monarch of India, and became a Buddhist. The inscription on it was decyphered by James Prinsep, after it had for ages baffled all native enquiry. It is called by the natives Bhim Singha's walking stick.

The cantonments are four miles from the fort—the garden, spacious serai, and marble mausoleum of Jehangir, son of *Sultan Khasra*, are now in ruins. The temple of Varaha, near the circuit bungalow, deserves a visit.

The Allahabad Mission Press is an interesting object, from the number of vernacular works it has published for the North West Provinces. Notwithstanding its situation, at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, Allahabad is quite eclipsed as a commercial dépôt by Mirzapur. The population of Allahabad is only 25,000.

The road leading from Allahabad is finely planted, while, perhaps, the finest tamarind trees in India are to be found here—mica is found mixed up with the Doab soil in this district.

Naubaster ke sarai has a large Jain temple.

In *Korah* are a number of tombs, it was once the residence of a Mogul Emperor.

Futehpur, eighty miles from Allahabad, a civil station since 1826, has been noted for its tombs and serais, as also for dealers in horses' skins, who used formerly to poison travellers' horses for the sake of the skins, worth one rupee each, by mixing drugs with the food for horses brought for sale. See *Kinloch's Statistics of Futehpur District*, quarto, a work of 400 pages, giving a mass of most interesting information. We learn from it that Futehpur has grown up during a period of 500 years, that it occupies an area of 160 acres, and has a population of upwards of 15,000 souls ; that it contains 4,181 houses, 306 wells, 7 serais, 46 mosques, and 19 Hindu temples.

Crossing the *Pandua nala*, we enter the *Cawnpur district*, a flourishing one, 10,000 acres of land are under cotton cultivation; it has a population of one million, of which one-twelfth are Mussalmans ; there are 16,542 landed proprietors in the district, cultivating 1,495,628 acres, yielding a revenue of 21,47,315 Rs. ; there are 179 Persian, 16 Arabic, 58 Sanskrit, and 280 Hindi schools, conducted by natives. In 1846-7, a calculation was made of the traffic in one year over Pandua bridge, it amounted to 565,347 foot passengers, 40,304 horses, 9,950 loaded bullocks, 62,906 hackeries, and 73,548 camels.

Montgomery's Statistical Report of Cawnpur is an admirable work, a large quarto, containing seventeen maps and ample statistical tables. Cawnpur town, forty-eight miles from Futehpur, stretches the length of six miles, with its immense lines of cantonments, capable of holding 7,000 troops, and garden houses along a sandy plain intersected by ravines ; it was once the principal military station in India, and so was raised from the state of a village in 1778. A population of 58,000. It has many an interesting association for the readers of *Henry Martyn's Life*, or *Mrs. Sherwood's Indian Orphans*. Ice is made here in the winter, in a large field cut into shallow squares, in which broad pans are placed, filled with water, and straw is scattered about. The traveller will meet with dust enough here.

At some leagues distance from Cawnpur, is the place supposed by natives to be the centre of the earth.

The surrounding country produces rich crops of cotton, which now go down the Jumna instead of the Ganges : saddlery and harness are well made here—308 houses are engaged in the trade. Wolves abound.

The Ganges canal debouches at Cawnpur, the road crosses it. A magnificent monument to British enterprise, costing one and a half million sterling, extending 898 miles,

and irrigating five and a half millions of acres : it is calculated it will bring in Government a revenue of forty lakhs annually.

A bridge of boats leads to the Oude territory, the ancient Ayudha—Ram's possession. Here the population are armed to the teeth.

Bakauti, a few miles beyond Bilhur, has a curious temple of red sandstone, the exterior ornaments represent crouching tigers.

Six miles east of Kanauj, we enter the *Furrakabad* district, containing a population of 1,003,073, of whom one-eighth are Musalmans.

At *Gursahajganj* dâk bungalow there is a branch road to Furrakabad. *Meerun ke sarai*, fifty miles on, is only noted for its once fine serai ; two miles beyond is the Kanauj dâk bungalow ; the route from that to Kanauj, 2 miles, lying across Indigo fields. *Kanauj* is a short distance to the right, the city that provided Bengal with Brahmanical teachers : vast mounds are the only remnants of the glory of a place, the capital of India in Alexander's time, which once contained 30,000 shops selling betelnuts, and was fifty miles in circumference—thieves and sellers of fictitious antiques abound there now. Mahmud of Guzni laid his desolating hand on it. Many Buddhist coins and relics have been found. In Fa Hian's time one of the towers of Asoka was standing in Kanauj.

At *Bhowong* the road branches off to Agra. At *Nabigan* we enter the *Mainpuri* district, noted for infanticide. An interesting account is given of the measures of Mr. Raikes, the late magistrate, for suppressing infanticide among the Rajput tribes there. *Selections of the Records of the North West Provinces*, No. XI. We come to the town of *Mainpuri*, the civil station of Etawah, in a sandy plain. An old fortress overlooks the valley of the Esan river, the seat of the raja of Mainpur for centuries, he was a descendant of Prithiraja—"the thunders of artillery announced the birth of a son or nephew of the raja, but the smiles of an infant daughter were never witnessed in his walls"—infanticide was the rule among the Rajput population. Mainpuri has a Jain temple, and many Jâts live near it. A few miles east of *Ferozabad*, we enter the *Agra* district, respecting whose agricultural resources and landed tenures an able report has been given by Mr. Jackson, in his *Statistics of Agra*. *Ferozabad*, forty miles from Mainpuri, abounds in old tombs ; it was formerly walled and an extensive place.

Mahomedabad is ten miles from Ferozabad ; two miles beyond it is a fine temple in a lake, connected with the main land by a bridge of twenty-one arches.

Begum ke serai is within twelve miles of Agra, the Taj becomes visible from this, it reminds one very much of a distant view of the Pantheon in Paris.

The approach to *Agra* or *Akbarabad* is indicated by the hilly nature of the ground, intersected by deep ravines, the abode of wolves; within two miles of the town, on the left hand, the *Taj* lifts its marble columns to view, the link between the past of Akbar's day, and the present of *Kafir* rule. On the right of the road, is the beautiful tomb of Shah Jehan's premier, Etman-ud-Daula, a splendid pile of white marble, delicately carved into fret work, its screens and tessellated enamels were very fine. Near it is the *Ram Bhag*, built by Shah Jehan's empress, on the banks of the river. The Jumna next presents itself, a shallow stream, about ninety yards wide in the cold weather. The traveller crosses by a bridge of boats, 1,256 feet long, and drives on a good road made in the famine year, 1838. Along the left is the quay, with rather handsome ghats; to the right is the commercial part of *Agra*. Before us lies the fort, built on an eminence eighty feet high, with its red sandstone walls, and Akbar's palace towering over the river, while, between the quay and the fort, is the site of the scene for elephant fights, which were frequently viewed by Akbar and Shah Jehan, from the balcony near the fort walls. The cantonments are two miles from the bridge, and the civil station four miles beyond them. The right banks of the river were formerly the residence of merchants, and contained a large population; they were the Garden Reach of *Agra*.

Akbar commenced building *Agra* (previously a village) in 1566, chiefly induced by its central position and navigable river. Some years after that an English factory was established, and we have an account of the famous Tom Corryat studying in it the Persian and Urdu languages, which he spoke like a native, travelling through the country on foot. (*See Calcutta Review*, vol. IX. p. 127 *et seq.*)

Agra is four miles long by three broad, but not one-sixth of its original extent; mounds and old tombs shew what *Agra* once was, with its 100 mosques, 80 serais, 800 public baths, and 15 bazars. All the existing buildings have been erected from old bricks dug up; it is only of late that bricks have begun to be made—the city is the wreck of the past, with its population reduced from 600,000 to 80,000; the remains of the wall which once environed it, and round which the Jumna's waters flowed, are still to be seen—the modern city has been well named by Jacquemont “une reunion de Faubourgs.”

The Government college, built in the Gothic style, has a fine quadrangle. The jail contains 3,000 prisoners, among whom are many thugs; the effects of the labors of Dr. Walker, the superintendent of the jail, are most gratifying,—the cheerfulness of the prisoners, though constantly occupied,—the facility with which, under his management, 1,200 prisoners have been taught to read and write Hindi, and thereby have become entitled to certain privileges and indulgences.—The sight of a gang of dakaits marching about, chanting the multiplication table;—of felons, after twelve months' study, reading a book in Hindi, and answering simple questions on some of the common objects of nature,—women too answering,—of murderers working at paper-making, weaving, carpet-making, gardening, forging fetters, making military accoutrements,—are not easily forgotten. We see here, and in other parts of the North Western Provinces, an attention paid to the instruction of the lower orders, to which, we are sorry to say, the Government of the Lower Provinces is a total stranger. The school of industry, the convent, and Corrie's college, belonging to the Church Missionary Society, are also objects of interest.

The Vernacular Normal school deserves a visit, a sound education through Hindi is given to the pupils, intelligent young men drafted from the village schools, who here receive a training as Vernacular teachers—they are instructed in Geography, History, Euclid, composition, all through their own language. We may judge of the progress of vernacular education in the North West Provinces, by the *vernacular* course of instruction in Rurki college. Algebra, geometry, mensuration, plane trigonometry, optics, heat, electricity, conic sections, principles of astronomy, are subjects. The Government, as the last vernacular education report shows, are labouring zealously at irrigating the minds of the peasants with the waters of instruction, and by the avidity with which books are bought, we can judge of the results. Ledlie's Agra School Book press shows great activity in the department of vernacular school books, a marked contrast to our Calcutta slow coach, the School Book Society, though having 500 Ra. monthly from Government. Ledlie's press sold, in two years, for the Government vernacular schools established in eight districts, 21,605 volumes; and we may reckon the probable annual sale of vernacular books from it at 30,000. The report on vernacular education, in eight districts of the North West Provinces, embodies most valuable details.

The Roman Catholic burial ground has various curious old tombs, reminding one of Thevenot's days, when in 1666 there were reckoned 25,000 Christian families in Agra;

some of these were Italians, employed as diamond cutters. Among the tombs is one to Colonel Hessing, a Dutchman, built on the model of the Taj, in the Muhammedan style ; he was in Scindia's service,—his biography is given in the *Asiatic Register* : he rose from being a common soldier to be Governor of Agra.

The Jesuits here, in Akbar's time, were able men, who could then address the Mogul in his own language. Shah Jehan built a church for them, and two of his brothers were baptized in it.

The *fort* recalls the days of Akbar ; it is surrounded by a trench thirty feet wide. We come first to the *Jama musjid*, a large mosque of three domes, with a triple row of eighteen arches, *simplex munditiis* ; then to the hall of audience, 180 feet by 60, now used as an arsenal and armoury, with Chinese and other flags waving in it ; the gates of Somnath (!) are at the end of the room, eleven feet high and nine broad, skilfully carved with Arabesques, and bordered with Kufic characters.—They are probably 1,000 years old ; for 800 years they formed the entrance to Mahmud of Ghizni's tomb. Here is still to be seen the throne from which Akbar, receiver of a revenue of seventy millions sterling, daily dispensed justice in open court ; there is a marble slab also on which the prisoners stood. Terry describes this throne as having a canopy of pure gold, the steps plated with silver, ornamented with five silver lions, spangled with jewels ; but the Mahrattas, after the Napoleon fashion, soon reduced things to a simple state.

The *Moti musjid*, or mosque of pearl, along with its surrounding court, and four rows of marble arches, was the private chapel of the ladies of the zenana, formed of exquisitely white marble brought from Jaipur ; it was erected by Shah Jehan, in 1656, during the period of his seven years' imprisonment in Agra fort by his rebellious son ; each of the slabs on its floor serves as a prayer place. A paper written by a native was here put into our hands, which is as fine a specimen as we have ever seen of oriental exaggeration of description.

Among the objects of interest in the Palace are the *shishah khana*, or bath room, the sides of which were decorated with small looking glasses and niches for lamps, over which water fell in a cascade,—the beautiful verandahs overlooking the river and the Taj,—the small rooms for the zenana ladies playing hide-and-seek,—the rooms of retreat in the hot weather—the chamber where ladies were hung, and their bodies dropped into a well underneath (see *Calcutta Review*, Vol. II. p. 411.) The emperor inflicted very summary punishment, almost whipping a man to death, and then making him kiss the rod ; sending a man who

broke a China cup, to China, to buy another; burying alive a woman of the harem who kissed a eunuch, &c. &c.

The road from the cantonments to the Taj, was formerly lined with houses of the nobility. This Taj, to the memory of Momtaza Zemami, is the noblest monument ever erected to woman in the world. Momtaza attended to state affairs, while her husband, in company with his French physician, was consuming his hours over the wine bottle; “he raised her out of the dust, from a very mean family.” The Taj, one mile from the fort, is not a mere useless monument to the dead; by its exquisite beauty, both of material and structure, it is a school of art, where both the poet and artist can foster a love for the beautiful. Its terraced gardens and orange parterres, kept in good order, are useful for horticultural purposes, while there is accommodation for Europeans and picnic parties—but the mullah’s cry to prayer no longer resounds—no Mogul musicians are here—no Christian is now debarred from seeing the tomb—no eunuch, with two thousand sipahis, any longer guards the approach to a building which occupied, for twenty years, 22,000 men in its erection,—yet the brick scaffolding is said by Tavernier to have cost as much as the building itself, which he calculated at more than three millions sterling. The dome being oval is in the Musalman style, as it is semi-circular in Hindu architecture, shining “like an enchanted castle of burnished silver.” It is 260 feet high, seventy feet in diameter, beneath it lies the tomb of Momtaza Zemami, who died in 1621. She was Shah Jehan’s favorite wife, a Khadija in her day, the bitter foe of the Portuguese at Hugli. Her virtuous qualities are recorded in Arabic, on marble bedecked with gems. On her tomb is a flower composed of 300 different stones; all the tombs are surrounded by an elegant screen of latticed marble. Beside this tomb is that of Shah Jehan himself, a man who secured the throne to his own children, from the other members of Timur’s house, by the use of the dagger and bow string, yet he himself died a prisoner in 1666. The stillness and dim religious light of the place, and the solemn echo from the slightest sound, are particularly striking. In 1814 the East India Company spent £10,000 on its repairs. Its fountains, eighty-four in number, occasionally play.

The *Ram bhag*, a public garden, is on the opposite side, a beautiful retreat for Akbar’s courtiers, who preferred for a residence the cool and quiet banks of the Jumna, to the noise of the city.

On the road to Sekundra we meet with a few of those *khosh-minars*, which were the mile stones erected by Akbar, three centuries ago, along a splendid road between Agra and Delhi,

140 miles; at each of those stones was a chaukidar station, while the road was lined with stone aqueducts for irrigation, and shaded with magnificent evergreen trees, brought in full growth by elephants from the forests. It formed part of the great road to Lahore, called by travellers the long walk.

Sekundra, or the city of Alexander, six miles from Agra fort, contains the tomb of Akbar; his noble dust lies in a vault here, since 1605, when he died, after a happy reign of fifty years. The mausoleum was begun by him and finished by his son. It is four storeys high, each story diminishing in height. From its roof, composed of beautiful white marble, exquisitely carved, you enjoy a fine view of Agra, the city of his creation. Akbar's tombstone is on the lower story, elegantly carved in devices of flower wreaths, with the word Akbar inwrought, while his title is given in the following language, "light of heaven! right hand of the Almighty!" on the top over it, are inscribed the ninety-nine attributes of God from the *Koran*. The verandas of this tomb are so large as to have once served as barracks to a regiment of dragoons.

From Akbar's tomb we come to the Church Mission Station of Sekundra, which provides the comforts of a religion which Akbar highly esteemed. The *Sekundra Press*, the largest in India, was founded by the Church Missionary Society, and located in a tomb erected by Akbar, over the remains of Munni Begum, a Christian, one of his wives,—one out of 5,000. The tomb afforded shelter to 300 orphans in the famine of 1837.

Agra is a Muhammedan city,—the person in search of Hindu antiquities must visit *Muthura* and *Brindaban*,—to see the ghat in the latter place where Krishna killed the snake, the tree in which he played the flute, from whose withered branches hang ribbons, to represent the milkmaids' dresses which he stole. *Brindabun* is noted as the paradise of apes, peacocks, and fishes: handsome ghats line the river Jumna. It has two fine temples of red stone, one of them in the form of a Greek cross. *Mathura* had in Tugernier's time an hospital for apes; it still possesses various fine buildings, the remains of what was plundered by Mahmud of Ghizni, who took away 300 camels' loads of silver from it.

It is a singular fact, illustrating the forbearance of the Moguls and the stability of the Hindu village communities, that around Agra, though the seat of Moslem Government, hardly an instance occurs of a Musalman claiming hereditary property in the soil, while many Hindus can show that their ancestors occupied the villages for twenty centuries.

The neighbourhood of Agra abounds in objects of interest.

Dig, with its fine palace ;—*Bhurtpur*, famous for its siege, but more famous now for the beautiful new city planned and finished by the present raja, which bids fair to be the gem of the west.

Futehpur Sikri, twenty-four miles from Agra, was the favourite residence of Akbar, where, amid the delights of his harem, and in the society of philosophers, he laid aside the cares of state ; this Windsor of the Mogul Emperor, erected in 1570, on a crested height, is entered by a gateway 120 feet high, within which is the shrine, made of beautiful marble, of Akbar's father confessor. The *Dewan Am*, or audience hall, where Akbar heard the cry of the poor for justice ; the *Hati durwaza*, a tower said to have been chiefly made of elephant's tusks,—the pulpit, in a mushroom shape, from which Akbar dispensed justice,—the beautiful tomb of Sheikh Selim, who had riches showered upon him, because by his prayers he was said to have procured for Akbar a son.—The marble floor which Akbar used as a Dice Board while women were his counters—(see *Calcutta Review*, vol. II., p. 411)—all remind one how greatness passes away.

On the road from Agra to Delhi, we come to *Hatras*, thirty-two miles from Agra, it had a strong fort, with a ditch 120 feet wide, and eighty-five feet deep ;—bombardeed in 1817 by the English, in consequence of its having been the rendezvous of all the thugs and robbers of the district. The native rulers, there, as elsewhere, protected them, in consideration of their sharing the plunder. *Aligurh* is fifty-six miles from Agra : the native name is *Coel* ; it is noted for its mud fort, which, under General Perron, was a strong fortress : it was taken by Lord Lake in 1803 by stratagem, though it could have held out for a month against a regular attack. Its fosse was deep enough to float a seventy-four, and was in some places 400 feet wide—it was dismantled by Lord W. Bentinck ; between the fort and Aligurh, are the ruins of the house which belonged to Monsieur Perron, Scindia's Commander-in-Chief. In Coel, two miles from the fort, is a large mosque. In Abul Fazl's time, 1582, Coel was the capital of a large district. No heads of peasant-robbers, suspended on poles, along the road, now meet the eyes, as in Akbar's days.

Near Delhi we cross a branch of the great Ganges canal, designed to secure 3,320,000 acres from the effects of drought. Delhi is visible twenty miles before reaching it ; the Kutab Minar towers aloft, surrounded by masses of ruins. The city, which once received its crore of rupees in tribute from Bengal,

is now bereft of all power,—yet the Emperor styles himself “king of kings.”

A fine bridge of boats leads the traveller across to Delhi. A bridge of this kind existed in the Mogul times. Previous to a visit to Delhi, we would recommend the perusal of *Bernier's Travels*. Bernier was a French doctor, and was court physician to Aurungzeb for twelve years, between 1656 and 1668. He lived in familiar intercourse with the Moguls of his day, of whom he has given a faithful portrait. *Sleeman's Recollections* afford valuable sketches of the family of Shah Jehan, as does also *Terry's Voyage to East India*. The author was two years chaplain to Sir T. Roe, Lord Ambassador at the great Mogul's court. Delhi, the ancient Indraprastha, whose origin goes back to twelve centuries B. C. was taken by Kutab-ud-din, a slave, in 1209. Shah Jehan, finding the heat of Agra intense, from the surrounding sands, founded the modern city of Delhi or Jehanabad, about 1628, which soon had a population of one million, now reduced to 138,000. He used the ruins of old Delhi for the new buildings, making it thus the *Dilhi* or heart of his territories. As we approach to the right we have a view of the old walls of Delhi, stretching along the river, in the direction of the English cantonments, two miles distant. They have seven handsome gates; these walls, chiefly of brick, formerly encompassed the city for nine miles, and yet in 1804, they enabled Sir D. Ochterlony to hold out against the whole Mahratta army. To the left we skirt the red sandstone walls of the Delhi fort and palace, and arrive at the dâk bungalow, located “under the shadow of the Great Mogul;” the walls are forty feet high; the fort cost a crore of rupees, inclosing a space of 600,000 yards; adjacent is a ground used in Mogul times for elephant fights and military manœuvres, as also for the arts of astrologers. The ditch was formerly filled with fish, and lined with a flower garden. The old Patan fort of Selimghur, used as a bastille, is joined by a bridge to the new fort erected in 1648, which is surrounded by a wall two miles in circumference, of red sandstone, brought from Bhurtpur. You enter it through a handsome gateway; passing under a fine arcade, you come to what was once the hall of audience, now a lumber room, having still a marble throne, with a pannel ornamented with inlaid work; from hence to the *Dewan khas* or private hall of audience, whose ceiling was once covered with plates of gold, while the peacock throne, valued at seven millions sterling, blazed forth. The throne glistening with the diamond rays, was supported by four massy pillars of gold. Here Nadir Shah drank coffee,

while the corpses of 100,000 slaughtered Hindus tainted the air. The *Moti Masjid*, of beautiful marble, was built by Aurungzeb, who has been seen in its fine quadrangle, praying, clad as an old fakir; but the interior now presents only one mass of ruins, weeds, silent fountains, and noisy children.

The *Church*, with its fine dome, was built at an expense of 1,20,000 rupees, by Colonel Skinner, who is interred here, after all his wanderings in the days of border warfare in India (See *Skinner's Life*, in two volumes). This church was erected in consequence of the father having made a vow, that if his son Joseph, who was so dangerously ill, as to be given over by the doctors, should recover, he would found a church as a thank-offering. It is in the Italian style; in it is a monument to W. Fraser, killed by the Nawab Shams-ud-din, in 1835; it cost 10,000 rupees, made of white marble in compartments, inlaid with "green stones, representing the weeping willow."

Close to the church is the *College*, which possesses the best library in the North West Provinces. A portrait of Mohan Lal, once a pupil of this college, is hung up here. The *arsenal* covers several acres of ground.

The *Juma Masjid*, the St. Peter of the Moslems, is built on a rock, the ascent is by three fine flights of forty steps, completed in 1632, by Shah Jehan, after six years' labour, at a cost of £100,000, built of red sandstone. They profess to have in this *Masjid* a hair of Muhammad's beard, and the Koran of Ali. How different now from the palmy days, when if the Emperor Aurungzeb did not visit it at least once a day, "the shops of the city would have been closed, and the whole kingdom in a state of ferment." A splendid view of the city, as also of the palace, is to be had from the minarets, 130 feet high, enclosing a city in itself! To the North-west we see the remains of the garden houses of the nobility, while from the garden of Shalimar to the *Kutab Minar*, a mass of ruins extends for twenty miles; these gardens cost one million sterling, but nothing now remains.

Delhi has not now the fine buildings of Mogul times,—the Omras houses, "erected on a mound overlooking a beautiful parterre, laid out with reservoirs, conservatories and fountains," but neither has it now so many hovels—60,000 thatched houses were burnt down in one hot season in Bernier's time. The Chandni Chauk or place of silver, the chief street, is "the Cheapside," running three-quarters of a mile in extent, fifty yards wide, with an aqueduct in the centre called Ali Mardan Khan's, made in 1626. In the afternoon it is a bustling scene, and gives a good opportunity of seeing native costumes, &c. Midway is

the Roshan-ud-Doula mosque, built in 1721, from which, in 1739, Nadir Shah, irritated by a shot fired at him, gave the signal for the massacre of 100,000 people, who were slaughtered in eight hours, in cold blood, by the soldiers,—the plunder he took amounted to forty millions sterling.

Near the college is *Ali Mardan's canal*—Ali Mardan was a noble of Shah Jehan's time—it draws its waters from the Jumna, near Kurnal, 185 miles distant, and was re-opened by Lord Hastings in 1820, at an expense of two and a half lakhs; the inhabitants went out in procession with music, the day it was opened. For an account of this and other canals, see *Asiatic Journal*, 1833, No. 15., *Ditto* No. 171, for 1846; *Major Baker's Memoranda of the Western Canals*, which is particularly valuable for the details he gives of the operations for checking the encroachments of the Jumna.

The *College* is on the site of *Dárá's* palace. It has the best library in the North West Provinces, over 9,000 volumes. Dárá, the son of Shah Jehan, had he mounted the throne, might have revolutionized India, as his policy was to confer offices on Christians and Hindus, instead of on mere Persian adventurers; his fate was tragical, his throat was cut by his brother Aurungzeb's order, and his head was presented on a dish to his brother.

The *Museum of the Archaeological Society of Delhi* deserves a visit, containing many old coins, curious inscriptions, &c. The Society has published two numbers of transactions, which throw much light on the localities of Delhi.

Passing out of the Delhi gate, you enter on an herculaneum above ground, the ruins of old Delhi, which covered twenty miles of ground—a sea of ruins. The city was destroyed by the Mahrattas, about 1605; in fact, five cities, at different periods, occupied this ground, the old *Indraput*.

Further on, to the right, is the hill on which Timour is said to have stood and witnessed the battle in 1423, when he ordered 100,000 prisoners to be slain in cold blood, the act of one hour:—old Delhi became deserted from that time. The *Observatory* was built in 1730, by the Raja of Jaypur, a famous astronomer, the gnomon is sixty feet high.

The *tomb of Safdar Jang* is four miles from Delhi, a fine building of red sandstone, having a handsome dome, with a beautiful block of white marble in the centre, erected in 1730. Safdar Jang lies in it; he was once a trooper, but rose to be premier of Lukhnow. Rooms large enough to accommodate several parties of travellers, were provided here by a former king of Lukhnow.

Half a mile North-west of this, is the mausoleum of Sekander Shah ; though he died in 1275, the enamel is still fresh. Passing through masses of ruins, a city of the dead, we come to the *Kutab minar*, the highest pillar in the world, rising with great magnificence to the height of 232 feet. Its section is a polygon of twenty-seven sides, having fifty-four feet in diameter at the base. It took forty-four years in building, and was finished about 1240. It was erected probably as a minar for prayer, by Kutab-ud-din, who rose from being a Turkistan slave, to be the first Patan sovereign of Delhi. Hindu temples supplied the materials. You ascend by 384 steps to the top, from which there is a commanding view—all relics of the past. See *Archer's Tour*, Vol. I., p. 118, and a drawing of it in *Von Orlich's Travels*, also *Sleeman's Rambles*, Vol. II., p. 252, and *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IV., p. 313. The Government gave very liberally, in 1828, Rs. 22,000, for its repairs. Near it is a magnificent architrave in the Saracenic style, sixty feet high, erected in 1310 ; ruins are piled all about, probably of Jain origin. Close to it is an iron lath or pillar, thirty feet high, and as many below the ground, believed by the Hindus to rest on the head of their great snake, to have been the palladium of their dominion, and to have stood there 1,500 years.

Toglakabad, a great curiosity, is reached after a drive of five miles from the *Kutab*, over a hilly road of sandstone ; we pass part of the old wall of the city of *Jehanpanah*. Taglak Shah was assassinated in 1324, but the fort of this city, six miles in circumference, with its enormous blocks of stone and bastions, is a mighty monument of his genius, and of the cyclopean builders ; there are many subterranean apartments still remaining. This city, now untenanted, reminds one of those magnificent piles the traveller meets with suddenly in Ceylon or South America. The Moguls, like Nicholas of Russia, were not friendly to the nobles travelling to distant countries, thus spending the money out of it, hence their superfluous wealth was expended on tombs and buildings.

The remains of a covered stone way, of twenty-five arches, leads to the splendid tomb of the founder, with its marble dome : the surrounding plain was once a lake. *Taglak* was killed here by the fall of a wooden house, erected for him by his son ; he was a cruel man, and employed much of his time in hunting down the poor peasantry, hanging up their heads as trophies at the city gates. We return from this place to Delhi.

Starting another day from the Delhi gate, we come to *Feroze Shah's lath*, a pillar of Asoka, thirty feet high, twelve

feet in circumference, which has stood for 2,100 years, with its inscriptions. (See *Journal Asiatic Bengal*, 1834, p. 105). The Jats attempted to destroy this by cannon.

Two miles further, the *purana killa* or old fort, a most striking pile, standing out amid the ruins of Delhi, was built by Feroze Shah in 1290, massive, like all Patan architecture, with walls forty feet high, and six feet thick. On the South side are the remains of an amphitheatre, while Shir Shah's splendid mosque, with its horse-shoe-shaped arches, is near the entrance.

One mile further, is the tomb of Humayun, the father of Akbar, 120 feet high. It cost fifteen lakhs, rising from a platform 2,000 feet in circumference. He laid the foundation stone of it himself in 1550 ; he erected a tomb on a similar plan near it, for his barber, while his family are buried in various crypts in the building, amounting to sixty-eight. The enamel of the mosaic work there is very striking for its freshness after centuries have elapsed. This monument to his glory was his death-scene, he fell from the scaffolding and was killed.

Near this tomb stood *Indraprastha*, or Hindu Delhi, the capital of India twelve centuries B. C.

Nizam-ud-Din's tomb is a quarter of a mile from this. He was an Affghan saint, the disciple of another saint, whose look it was said could turn clods of earth into lumps of sugar. The lattice work is exquisitely fine, and has stood the wear of time uninjured, since 1415. The veranda around it is very handsome, the pillars are finely covered with representations of birds, butterflies, &c.; there are two doors of white marble, also well deserving of notice. Near it is the tomb of his friend Khosru, a great poet. The tombs of the Delhi family are around. There lies, in a marble tomb, *Shah Alum*, whose eyes were bored out by the Mahrattas, when they took Delhi ; 300,000 Moslem martyrs are said to be buried in the neighbourhood. Close to it is a *bauli* or sacred tank for pilgrims, into which natives leap from a height of fifty feet for a small douceur.

It would be easy to mention other objects of interest to visit, a short distance from Delhi, such as *Mirath*, which is only 125 miles from the foot of the Himalayas, and thirty-six from Delhi. With the advance of the Railway, Simla can be included in the six weeks' tour. Meerut was a strong place when taken by Timur, in 1399. *Sirdhana*, twelve miles, the residence of the Begum Sumru, noted for the handsome marble altar in its cathedral—*Saharanpur* and its establishment of ghossains and monkeys, and also its excellent botanical garden,—the valley of the Dhun.—*Massuri*, 7,500 feet high, where the ascent into the bracing air causes a proportionate

rise in the barometer of the spirits.—A distant view of Jumnotri, 26,000 feet high, is to be had here.—*Hardwar*, ninety-seven miles from Meerut, the place of pilgrimage of 300,000 natives.—*Rurki*, near Saharunpur, noted for its college of engineers.

The limits we have assigned to this article will not allow us to notice several points of interest for a traveller to the North West Provinces, such as Missionary and Educational Institutions—the excellent statistical papers published by the Government of Agra—and the Vernacular Press.

But we must return now from the Delhi of the past to Calcutta, and shall notice three places which the traveller can visit on his return route, Lukhnow, Mirzapur, and Chunar. Passing through Cawnpur we come to the *Oude territory*, famous for thugi. Colonel Sleeman has constructed a thugi map of the district, in which there are 274 stations for thugs. One man confessed to having been engaged in 931 murders. Lukhnow is fifty miles from Cawnpur; a mail cart lands the traveller here at the unseasonable hour of four in the morning, in the dák bungalow, close to the Residency and Post Office; *Lakhnau*, called Lakhmavati, from Lakshman, the brother of Ram, dates as a capital only since 1775, when it was removed from the old capital Fyzabad, to which a well-planted road leads. The population amounts to 300,000; its buildings are tawdry and showy, not partaking of the massiveness and magnificence of Mogul times,—plaster and stucco work; they indicate the waning of the Mussulman power. The *chauk* is worth visiting as the seat of trade, it is occasionally decorated with the heads of refractory zemindars. The bridge across the beautiful Gumti, the Indian Meander, leads from the Residency to cantonments; the roof of the Residency gives the best view of the city, its palaces, gilded cupolas, and mosques. On the city side is a Hindu temple, elegantly sculptured, the only one which Moslem intolerance will allow in the city, which gives full license to all dens of infamy, but none to any foreign religion. Muhammedanism is exclusively predominant, but its votaries are devoted to sensuality, not, like the early Kaliphs, to the spread of their faith. The people met with, show by their appearance the wisdom of the company in drawing their recruits chiefly from Oude. *Lukhnow* may be called the paradise of pigeons, who swarm in all directions.

The *Observatory*, *Royal printing press*, *Menagerie*, *Oriental library*, are things of the past, the present king being devoted to licentious pursuits; and in consequence vice displays itself in

the most disgusting forms, while every thing intellectual is neglected.

The *Imámbára* is a handsome building, erected by Asaf Doula, 1784, built after the model of the mosque of Saint Sophia, at Constantinople; it has a splendid hall, 150 feet long, sixty broad, and eighty high; in the centre is the tomb of the founder, with his sword and open koran lying on it; the minarets are beautiful, fluted, and ornamented with wreaths. Near it is the *Rumi durwaza*, or beautiful gate, having over its gate-way the Nawab of Oude's emblem of sovereignty—two large fishes. Adjacent are the royal tombs, enclosed in a handsome court; tigers of green glass, presented by the Emperor of China, and a figure of Muhammad's steed Borak, are to be seen here. An *Oriental bath* is to be had at the *Imámbára*.

A drive of three miles takes to *Constantia*, the mausoleum of General Martin, who came out to India a common soldier, and died a General; he built this handsome pile intending to sell it to the Nawab, who knowing the General was an old man, did not wish to purchase it, but to take possession of it at his death. The General hearing this, gave orders that he should be interred in a room at the bottom of the house; you are conducted to the tomb by torch-light—where rests an extraordinary man—soldier, gunsmith, watch-maker, and builder at the same time, who often made 500 rupees before breakfast by polishing diamonds.

From Luknow we proceed via Gopalganj to *Mirzapur*, noted for its cotton brought from Bundelkund, and carpet manufacture, situated at the termination of the Great Dekkan road, which is splendidly metalled, shooting down like a great artery to Jubbulpur, 239 miles. The approach to it is very beautiful, as it is situated, like Benares, on a fine curve of the river, whose high banks are finely lined with splendid stone ghâts, temples, mahajans' garden houses, having a population of 80,000 residents, likely to increase, and make it, perhaps, the New Orleans of North India. Ten lakhs of maunds of cotton annually pass through Mirzapur, and its magnificent buildings seem to foreshadow its future greatness; among the objects of curiosity are its beautiful *chauk*, lately a noisome tank, its superb *serai* of stone, with towers at the corner, a well and shrubbery in the centre, and accommodation for several hundred travellers, chiefly at the expense of a native lady:—its public *gardens* and swimming baths. New Mirzapur was the ancient *Sagala* mentioned by Ptolemy. (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V., p. 2,756.)

The Kymore range of hills and valley of the Soane, thirty-

two miles distant, form a favorite excursion for the Mirzapur people; the scenery is very grand, amid Alpine lofty precipices, grottoes, and all the sublime of nature. See an excellent article on this subject in the *Benares Magazine*, "How we tried to see the Soane." To the South of the Kynore hills is Sirguja, where gold is found in rather large quantities.

A drive out from Mirzapur to a *sanatarium* four miles off, built by a native, for the use of *Europeans*, on the brow of a hill, commanding a magnificent prospect, is well worth a visit. On our way we pass some finely sculptured temples, containing inside a variety of mythological pictures. On our right lies the temple of Vindya Chal—Kali's Northern residence—the Kali Ghât of the North Western Provinces, frequented by thugs from all parts of India, who make offerings to the shrine here from the proceeds of their robberies and murders. 250 boats of river thugs, in crews of fifteen, used to ply between Benares and Calcutta, five months every year, under the pretence of conveying pilgrims—their victims' back was broken, and the corpse was thrown into the river. We cross a bridge, which cost 40,000 Rs., built by a Mahant, on the bambu principle, hollow under the roadway, so as to afford accommodation for shops and resting places for travellers, sixty feet over the river, which rises forty-eight feet in the rains, and used to take travellers two hours to cross.

From Mirzapur we proceed to Benares, via *Maharejgunj*, and from thence to Chunar.

A drive of two hours, or fourteen miles, along a good road, leads the traveller to the hill fortress of *Chunar* or *Chandalgur*. A few miles after leaving Benares, we pass over a handsome bridge, which commemorates the name of Prinsep. The Sultanpur cavalry station is within four miles of Chunar, now almost deserted, with its spacious stables and once handsome bungalows; near it is an old mosque, containing the tomb of the Mussulmani wife of an old Colonel, one of the Qui-hies of former days. From this place a distant sight is had of the Chunar fortress, cresting the Ganges stream, looming in the distance, and gradually enlarging on the view, until after four miles we come to the river, which runs narrow and deep, washing the foot of the rock, which rises 200 feet high. You cross by a ferry, and this Edinburgh Castle of the East unfolds all its massy proportions before you, perched on a limestone spur of the Vindhya hills, which here descends to the water's edge, while wall above wall rises in tiers before you—there is not another rock between this and the Himalayas. Its military importance has passed away, it is now the Vincennes for the Sikh state prisoners, and the Chelsea of soldiers; it is

garrisoned by a few invalids. In former days they excited the spiritual sympathies of Corrie. (*S. Bishop Corrie's Life.*)

The fort was built about the eleventh century, by Sultan Mahmud, who, before his descent on Benares, in 1017, fortified it. Since that, its fortune has been various; in 1575, it held out against the Mogul army for six months. In 1764 it was taken by the English. The view from its lofty ramparts is very fine, reminding one of Stirling Castle. By its side is a burial ground, containing some old monuments. Chunar is noted for little now, except its tobacco cultivation, and stone quarries. The church is pretty, embosomed in trees. The population amounts to 20,000. Buchanan states that some of the Pal Rajas lived at Chunar or Chandalgar, which would imply that it was a place of some note ten centuries ago.

From Chunar we return to Benares: in a few years we hope the traveller, instead of returning the same way by the Trunk Road, will be able to proceed by rail, via Patna and Rajmahal, thus varying the route; and we trust that also the Allahabad and Delhi railway may, ten years hence, be opened. Then the interesting regions of Central India, teeming with recollections of Rajput times and Jain palaces, will form an additional line for tourists, and we shall have the Trunk Railway from Benares to Bombay.

ART. V.—1. Selections from the Public Correspondence of the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab, Nos. I., II., III., and IV.

2. *The Lahore Chronicle.*
3. *The Punjab Blue Book.*
4. *Records. MS.*

We hope, in this paper, to convey to the general reader some information about the Punjab, beyond what is contained in the bare facts, that its possession cost us two campaigns, that it has engaged a great deal of Lord Dalhousie's time and attention, that it has been pretty well set in order by the Lawrences, and that it has made very considerable progress in civilisation, since the day when it became an integral portion of the British dominions in India. It will be our earnest endeavour to set forth the most striking points in the administration of the Punjab with some little detail : to group together the reforms that have been rapidly introduced there, in the short space of four years and a half, some mention of which may be found in previous numbers of this *Review*; to mention the material and moral improvements completed or devised, and so to present, if possible, a sketch of a great revolution, to which we honestly believe that history can supply no parallel.

There are few, if any, of our readers who are not aware that the Punjab consists of five consecutive Doabs, or tracts of country situated between two rivers, and that the streams which water these splendid tracts are, in reality, five in number, besides the Indus, namely, the Sutlej, the Beas, the Ravi, the Chenab, and the Jhelum. These Doabs vary in extent from thirty or forty to one hundred miles in breadth. The whole figure of the Punjab may, it has been observed, be compared to a triangle, the apex of which should be at Mooltan, or a little lower down the river at Mittunkote, while the base is the range of the Himalayas. One side of the triangle will thus be the river Sutlej, from the foot of the hills to its junction with the Indus, and the other will be formed by the Suliman range, and the hills from Bunnoo to Peshawar. The first Doab adjoining the older provinces, that of *Jullunder*, has now been nearly eight years under British rule. Lying conveniently at the foot of the hills, compact, easily accessible, and eminently fertile, it was annexed by Lord Hardinge, after the Sutlej campaign. It has lately been settled, after the most careful and laborious investigation, for a period of thirty years. In its

whole expanse, there is nothing but one sheet of the richest cultivation : its management is a task of comparative ease. The next Doab is the *Bari*, and in some respects it is the most important of the whole five. This tract may be said to present features diametrically opposed to each other in its two divisions. From Lahore eastward, to the foot of the hills, it contains the very flower of the Sikh population. The commercial and religious capital of the Sikhs, Umrtsir, is situated in this tract. In it are other towns of less note, but of considerable extent and importance, and thronged by a manly and warlike population : villages are numerous, cultivation is extensive, and returns are great. Here, in short, are set, side by side, the elements of progress, and the elements of disaffection ; this is none other than the famous Manjha, or central district, from which Runjit Sing collected the best and bravest of his troops. The lower part of this Doab, or that which extends westward, say, from a line drawn from Lahore to the Sutlej, is the very reverse of the former tract : villages are scattered, cultivation appears at intervals, and water is not easily procured. The population is thin, and brushwood and jungle cover the country for miles. We shall speak hereafter of the means which are being taken to convert this sterile tract into a fruitful garden. But we may here remark, that in attempting to form an idea of the characteristics of each Doab, two main points must ever be kept in view. The first is the richness, cultivation, and populousness of the tract, which runs along the foot of the Himalayas, from the Jullundur Doab, in a north westerly direction, as far as the Salt Range. This strip may vary in breadth from fifty to eighty, or even one hundred miles. From its proximity to a high range of mountains, it is visited by more copious showers than any other part of the Punjab : its inhabitants depend very little on irrigation : it is clothed with two magnificent crops during the year : it would warrant the traveller, who had visited no other portion of the annexed territory, in believing that the Punjab far excelled, in resources and exuberant fertility, every other part of our Indian possessions. But the second remarkable characteristic might speedily dispel the error. The centre of every Doab, away from the hills, is as barren as the tract just mentioned is productive. Parallel to each river forming the Doabs, there is, of course, a considerable strip of cultivation, but on crossing from one river to another, the traveller, as he advances, finds thorn and tamarisk taking the place of sugar cane and wheat : instead of a loam watered by the copious showers descending from the mountains, or by the stream skilfully led *supercilio*

clivosi tramitis, there is a dry stiff clay, or a soil impregnated with soda, while water lies too far beneath the surface to be reached, except by the laborious and expensive process of sinking wells. This feature characterizes all the westerly portion of the *Bari* Doab, the centre of the *Rechna* Doab, between the Ravi and the Chenab : of the *Chuch* or *Jetch* Doab, between the Chenab and the Jhelum, and of the *Sind Sagur*, the largest of the five, between the Jhelum and the Indus. The lower part of this last Doab is perhaps the least cultivated, and the least populous of any part of the Punjab. But, as we reach the upper part of it, "the ocean of the Sind or the Indus river," (as it is called from the annual inundations to which it is subjected,) we become conscious of another peculiar feature of the new kingdom. From Kalabagh on the Indus, there stretches, in an easterly direction, to the foot of the Himalayas, a range of hills, broken by ravines, unfitted for cultivation, obstructive of progress, and yet possessing resources of almost unknown extent. With the exception of one mountain, which rises as high as 4,000 feet, the general average height of this range is about 2,400 feet. This is the famous Salt Range, from the mines of which salt is dug out in pure sparkling masses, and sold at a considerable profit, on the part of the state. When we have surmounted the Salt Range, we find in the upper part of this Doab, a climate which, for a very considerable portion of the year, is really European : on the north side of the range is the station of Rawul Pindi, where a considerable force is always at hand to watch the mountaineers of Hazara, and at no great distance is Hazara itself. The name of Major J. Abbott will long be linked with the clans of this mountainous region, and a Station there has even been called by his name. It is not too much to say that the Mullicks of Hazara had, till lately, never been subdued. The very name of the country is derived from the *thousand* petty chieftains, who in their respective generations, have maintained their independence against the Greeks of old, against the armies of Mogul sovereigns, against the veteran battalions of Runjit Sing, and who have risen repeatedly against Sikh garrisons, crowded into fortresses and strongholds, with all the latest means and appliances of war. The task which had never been seriously attempted by Akbar or Aurungzebe, which had baffled the severity of Hurri Sing, which was too much for the present artful and politic ruler of Kashmir, has been accomplished by the tact and the good management of a single British officer. In the year 1847, these rugged villages, these inaccessible defiles, this independent, warlike, and excitable

population, were made over to the Durbar of Lahore, an equivalent being granted to the Maharaja of Kashmir, and with the rest of the Punjab, the whole passed under British rule in 1849. It has been necessary to maintain a considerable force in this peculiar region, and it is good policy not to attempt to derive much revenue from it ; but the grand objects of administration in such a country—peace and quiet—have been fully attained. Crime has decreased : there have been no outbreaks : travelling is no longer insecure : the petty chiefs have been indulged by the restoration of their lands, and every thing seems to promise tranquillity for the future. The mountaineers of Hazara, it will be remembered, require different treatment from the various tribes which line the frontier from the hilly country across the Indus, and all round Peshawar, down to the very borders of Scinde. The one set are our subjects, and the others are not. Of these latter we are now about to speak. No person who during the last three years has ever cast his eyes over a newspaper published in the North West Provinces, can have failed to become acquainted with some one of the tribes which keep our Punjab Irregulars in a state of chronic restlessness and anxiety. Swatties, Halunzais, Momunds, Shivranies, Wuzeerees, Murrees, and Bogties, pass like shadows, in quick succession, before the eyes of the bewildered reader, and have given rise in some quarters to an idea that the accounts of the tranquillity of the Punjab cannot be wholly correct. But nothing can be more unfounded than such an opinion. These marauders have no one thing in common with the cultivators of the plain : they have attempted to carry on the same system of desultory but lucrative warfare with the British administration which they have carried on for centuries. Forbearance at first, then warning, and when both these failed, retribution and chastisement—such are the maxims by which the Lahore Board have been actuated in dealing with these marauders. It is calculated that they might, if united, muster 100,000 men against us. They have been expressly told that the British Government desires no further conquest in that quarter, that it requires only a moderate tribute from such as come within its jurisdiction, but that it will insist on a peaceful frontier and a clear highway. These conditions, if not cheerfully acceded to, must be exacted by force, and the frontier from Peshawar, along the valley of Kohat, through the country of the Khutucks, down along by Bunnoo and Esakhail, through Murwut, and so on to the junction of Scinde, is now amply protected by a line of forts, by a good military road, and by regiments of infantry and cavalry, with their complements of artil-

lery, all admirably drilled, and well adapted to warfare in difficult passes and defiles.

We may conclude the above brief sketch of the physical aspect of the Punjab, by saying that it is about 290 miles long, by 344 miles broad, and that its area is estimated at 50,400 square miles. We turn now to the regime of old Runjit Sing, which presents some of the most characteristic features of oriental sway at any time. There is no doubt that the old Lion of Lahore could rule with vigour when he chose. But this vigour was confined to military subjects, and was little seen in the civil departments, save by the punctual realization of the revenue. The revenue was collected, either by provincial governors, such as Sawun Mull, the father of Moolraj, and Golab Sing, or by local agents termed Kardars. The provincial governor, or the farmers, had plenary power within the limits of their jurisdiction, and they exercised this power according to their various temperaments, just as natives, without check and without supervision, would exercise it under any rule and in any part of India. There was no distinct department, no set of individuals, specially charged with the administration of civil and criminal justice. All the researches of the most energetic and enquiring officers, before and after annexation, have not been able to discover the traces of a single judicial personage, save one termed the Adalutee, at Lahore. In the political capital alone was such an officer thought indispensable, but he was denied to the important commercial city of Umritsar. The name of Thannadar, or head police officer, was not uncommon; but his civil duties were confined to the mere repression of disturbances, and his main business was to arrange for the supplies of troops on a march. The great provincial governors paid themselves from the provinces under their control, after the remission of good round sums to Lahore : the Kardars were irregularly salaried, and lived mainly on their perquisites : there was no attempt at audit or account, and when the office of the pay-master of the regular army was overhauled, after annexation, it was found that the Sikh Sirdar who filled it, had not sent in any balance sheet for the last sixteen years ! Fine and mutilation were the punishments of a code, at once simple and severe, and it is believed that when we took the country, there were not probably one hundred men in confinement throughout its whole extent. As regards taxation, it could not be said that Runjit's budget pressed unequally, or that the burdens were distributed with partiality, for the simple plan was to tax every available article. In the time of the Regency, between the years 1846 and 1849, it was found that no less than

forty-seven articles of traffic or consumption paid duty to the state. The land tax was swelled by cesses of various kinds, till it carried off one-half of the produce of the soil. Yet with all this heavy assessment, this arbitrary justice, this capricious exercise of irresponsible power, the Government was not unpopular. Strong in a nationality of which we have fortunately met with no other example in India, proud of martial glory, as fanatic as the Mussulman, as sensual as the Hindu, almost as stalwart as the European, the Sikh saw, with undisguised rapture, the extension of the Khalsa's arms. While the war cry of the Guru was heard across the Indus, in the mountains of Hazara, before the fort of Mooltan, and all but south of the Sutlej, the population could look, well nigh with indifference, on huge grass preserves that were kept for the army, on fruitful plains converted into hunting grounds, and on districts where not one single mile of road was ever opened. Private property, the rights of cultivators, the privileges of landlords, were not ruthlessly invaded : many a dispute was settled by arbitration : and the village communities, with their marvellous tenacity, were happily preserved for a better system, and for a brighter day.

Such is a brief outline of the great Maharaja's system. We pass rapidly over the period of anarchy, and the partial reforms introduced by the regency, when much knowledge was acquired that was afterwards turned to good account, over the campaign of 1848-49, and we commence at once with the establishment of a Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab. The powers and constitution of that body may be briefly recapitulated. The three members wielded all the authority which, in the settled Provinces, is or was variously assigned to the Courts of Nizamut and Dewanny Adalut, to the Board of Revenue, to the Superintendent of Police, to the Special or Resumption Commissioners, and to the old Board of Customs. They had the powers of life and death, they formed the highest Court of Appeal in civil cases, they were to settle the revenue, to regulate the excise, to provide for the security of life and property, to superintend every moral or material improvement, in short, to care for everything which, in these days of increased and admitted responsibilities, can be pronounced to be the duty of conscientious administrators. Under the Board are seven Commissioners, who, besides their revenue duties, are the Civil and Sessions Judges of their divisions, and exercise a general superintendence over police, conservancy, and all miscellaneous matters. Next come the Deputy-Commissioners, who are the Magistrates and Collectors of districts, and who have ranged from twenty-

seven to twenty-nine in number. Then come Assistant Commissioners, numbering from forty-three to forty-five, who are drawn from the army and from the Civil Staff of the older provinces ; and besides these, there are forty-four Extra Assistants, who are variously Europeans, East Indians, and natives, either of the Punjab or of Hindustan. It is a grand feature in the system, that every officer, from the Commissioner of the division to the Extra Assistant, exercises civil as well as criminal and revenue powers, and is thus enabled to acquire that experience in the decision of civil suits, which is justly said to be denied to the future Civil Judge under the Governments of Agra and Bengal.

As nothing can be done under any Indian Government, until the revenue is settled, we shall briefly state the results of the revenue settlement of the Punjab, with the Trans-and-Cis-Sutlej divisions, before proceeding to speak of the other great measures, by which the administration has been distinguished. The land tax of the whole tract under the late Board, amounts to one crore and fifty-nine lakhs of rupees. Of this a crore and five lakhs are supplied by the Punjab Proper alone. The Trans-Sutlej division, which has been carefully surveyed and fairly assessed, yields a land revenue of twenty-nine lakhs, which has been fixed for a period of thirty years. In the Cis-Sutlej division, where the rent roll exhibits twenty lakhs, the survey and the settlement have been proceeding in close proximity. In the Punjab Proper the settlements have been made for shorter periods, in few cases for less than three, and in none for more than ten years. The occupants of the land, in this latter part of the country, have been divided into the following classes. 1. Proprietors not in possession, who have a lien on the land in the shape of a species of head rent, which is variously collected, and sometimes does not average more than one seer on a maund of produce. 2. Proprietors in possession. In this class the proprietary right may be vested in one single individual, or in a family composed of a few individuals, or in a large coparcenary community of cultivating proprietors. Where the right is confined to a single man or a family, a portion of the land is cultivated by that individual or family, and the remainder by cultivators, either mere tenants at will, or men possessed of a sort of right to hereditary occupancy. Where the proprietors form a large community in its most perfect form, each co-partner cultivates his own land, with his own plough, after his own fashion : the only universal feature is the mode of paying rent, which is determined on by the brotherhood generally. 3. Hereditary cultivators. It may be

difficult to distinguish the status of these individuals from that of real proprietors. But we are given to understand that the main distinction between such a cultivator and a proprietor, is the inability of the "former to sink a well, or to sell, mortgage, and transfer land." 4. Tenants at will. The condition of these men may be easily conceived. If they reside in the village where they cultivate, like the Khudkasht ryots of Agra or Bengal, their tenure is tolerably secure ; if they reside at a distance, like the Pykasht, it is precarious. The above, of course with those modifications which are found all over India, and which contribute to make our revenue system a great puzzle, are the main tenures with which we have had to deal, and under the fostering care of the Board, they have been consolidated where weak, confirmed where strong, and in a few instances where perishing, almost snatched from destruction. The land tax, it may here be stated, is about one-fourth of the produce.

As interesting a subject is that of the criminal jurisdiction. The chief crimes of the Punjab were, it may be conceived, of a violent nature. It was a reproach brought against Scott, that he had made Lord Marmion commit a crime more peculiar to a commercial than to a martial age ; and were a Sikh novel to be composed, the same error would have to be avoided, for the art of forging documents has not reached to a high degree of perfection in the Punjab. The first evil with which the Board had to grapple, was that of gang robbery or dacoity. Dozens of bad characters, turned adrift after the disbanding of the Sikh army, hopeless of enlistment in our ranks, and too proud to dig, betook themselves at once to the old trade of robbery or Dacoity, by which a century ago the Sikh had risen from being the leader of a band of robbers, to the lordship of villages, from lording it over villages to provinces, and from provinces to empire. In the Lahore division this crime was rife. It was put down by a little praiseworthy judicial severity, and by the increased vigilance of the police. In Umritsar alone there were thirty-seven capital sentences within the first year, and only seven in the second. Nearly all the above were inflicted on dacoits. These desperate characters soon perceived that the British authorities were not to be trifled with : the guiltiest parties have either fled the country, or died for the law : others have betaken themselves, in sheer hopelessness, to agricultural pursuits, and the crime is now *almost unknown*. Cattle-stealing, the normal crime of the Punjab, it will not be so easy to eradicate. The profession of a cattle-stealer is looked on as honourable. In the centres of three of the Doabs, there are large tracts where

pasture is abundant. And in the Sheikhoopoora and other jungles there are ample means of practising this trade, and eluding pursuit. But clever as the cattle-lifters are, it has been found possible to set men as clever on their track. The authorities have employed Khojeas or Khojis (literally, seekers), and these men have followed the traces of bullocks, through prickly jungles and over hard clay, with a perseverance and an ability which would not have disgraced a Pawnee or a Sioux in the prairies of the far West. The above crimes, if not always punished, were not unknown. But there was one deadlier trade, of sinister title and world-wide notoriety, from which it was discovered that even the Punjab was not exempt. For a time the British Government was fully employed in dealing with evils more palpable, or of greater urgency. At length, it was remarked, that dead bodies had been found in old wells, by the dense jungle, by the lone footpath, in places remote from intercourse, supervision, or control. These were the corpses, it was thought, of way-farers who had perished by sudden sickness. Thus much was hinted by the villagers, and reported by the police. In time, the frequency of these cases generated suspicion : as the authorities warmed to their work, no field of enquiry was left unexplored ; past experience was not disregarded, and patient investigation soon placed it beyond a doubt, that in this province, as in so many others, the Thug had for years been carrying on his accursed art. The duty of removing this plague-spot was entrusted to Mr. H. Brereton, an officer who had shown considerable aptitude for this kind of work, and by his exertions, offenders were arrested, approvers won over, dead bodies exhumed, and the whole system brought to light. Yet, compared with his expert brethren of Hindustan, with those adepts in the nefarious science, whose startling confessions, whether woven skilfully into some fictitious narrative, or delivered in the plain and unvarnished official report, thrill us now with horror—the Thug of the Punjab was a mere inexperienced bungler, an uneducated savage, who only half throttled his victims, and who, without his companion to aid him, was likely to fail in the attempt. They generally belonged to the tribe of Mazubbee or Magrubbee Sikhs : one of whom, it will be remembered, was the murderer of Mr. Agnew. The Thug sacrificed to no goddess, except Devi ; he performed no previous rites, though he might turn pale at the call of a partridge, or the cry of a jackal, on the right side of the road. He used the handkerchief in a clumsy fashion, and, with the aid of an accomplice, who tripped up the traveller or seized him from behind, managed to deprive his unsuspect-

ing victim of life. Often he had to use the sword, and the remains of the murdered man were found mangled or hacked to pieces. In short, we have little doubt, that the practised Fagan or Sykes of the Upper Provinces, or of Central India, would have looked on the Thugs of the Bari and Rechna Doabs as shallow novices and unworthy brethren, who brought discredit on their honourable profession. But, where human life was concerned, the Punjab authorities took little count of the greater or less skill displayed in the attempt to take it away. With Thugs as his guides, Mr. Brereton rode along bye-ways, far away from the villages, in lonely grass jungles, where there was hardly a single remarkable object to indicate the spot where the corpses had been buried. The fidelity with which the approvers retraced their steps, over huge tracts, without bearings, with not perhaps a tree or a mound to guide them in the search, is the only indication afforded us of any superior skill. "Dig here," they sometimes said to Mr. Brereton, when they had brought him to a spot, miles away from any habitation, "and you may find his shoes beside the skeleton of our victim." No less than 552 men have been arrested: of these 328 have been executed or otherwise disposed of; some are awaiting further enquiry; some have turned *Company's evidence*: others have been released unconditionally, or under surveillance; and the gangs have been completely broken up. The number of civil officers being limited, and the calls on their time and labour in the regular department being numerous, Mr. Brereton has gracefully handed over the duty of extirpating Thuggee to an officer deputed by Capt. Sleeman, but, with the Board, he may share the honor of having added one more victory to the brilliant array of successes gained by the British power in the East, in the cause of humanity.

Highway robbery has been common. Unoffending men have been seized, stripped, and turned adrift in the jungles, whence they have only found their way out after two or three days. With a daring and a refinement, which reminds us of the days of Dick Turpin, or Claude Duval, some of the bad characters have appeared as mounted high-waymen, and Major Lake distinguished himself by the capture of a set of these enterprising gentlemen, who had given the authorities very considerable trouble. It has been found necessary to mete out some degree of severity to this crime. The other offences prevalent in the Punjab do not present any remarkable features. Burglary there is not unlike burglary elsewhere. Resistance of process is almost unknown. Adultery has been productive of some fearful instances of retribution on

the part of the injured husband, and it has been found imperative for the magistrate to deal with adultery as a criminal offence, so as to deprive men of excitable passions, and a jealous sense of honour, of all excuse for taking the law into their own hands. It was not easy, at first, to convince the half-educated Punjabi, that to take life as a sacrifice for insulted *hürmat*, is an offence against society. There is, we have just said, not much else in the statistics of crime, as at present ascertained, that demands special notice. One axiom however may be considered as indisputable. Violent outrages against life and property will decrease : the trader from Central Asia, the sepoy returning to Oude, the native official on leave, may all pass along the loneliest highway, without the slightest apprehension. The rich merchant at Umritsir may feel certain that his ware-house will not be invaded at dead of night, or after sunset, by men with drawn swords and flaring torches : a general sense of quiet and security may reign in the walled city, at the shady well, and by the boundary, which is no longer the scene of repeated affrays. But petty offences, small thefts, assaults, false charges, and even perjury and forgery, will certainly increase. Instead of living by rapine, or complicating some old and unintelligible village feud, by more deeds of blood, the cultivator will betake himself to litigation ; and able men have already begun to foresee, that even in the Punjab to give false evidence or to fabricate documents may become a profitable trade, or a point of honour.

With regard to the civil and criminal administration, we presume that most readers are aware that judicial decisions are guided by the spirit, and not by the letter, of the Regulations. The Deputy-Commissioner, or the officer in charge of the district, has powers commensurate with those of the Magistrate elsewhere, and the Commissioner answers to the Civil and Sessions Judge. Where the sentence would be within the competence of a Magistrate in the North Western or Lower Provinces, the Deputy-Commissioner disposes of the case, while he sends up heavy crimes for trial by the superior court. One novelty has, however, been introduced. In cases where the sentence does not extend beyond seven years' imprisonment, or in heavier cases where the prisoner confesses his guilt, or wherever the charge on the face thereof is manifestly unsupported by the evidence, the Commissioner is empowered to pass sentence on the record of the lower court, without taking the evidence *de novo*. This sounds startling, but the plan has worked well, and it has been the means of dispensing speedy and substantial justice to all parties. With regard to civil business,

Deputy-Commissioners may take up all suits where the value of the litigated article exceeds 1,000 rupees. Those of less amount are variously decided, by Assistants, Extra-Assistants, and even by the Tahsildars or native Collectors of revenue, stationed at out-posts, with a limit of 300 rupees. These officers have, in fact, assumed the functions of Moonsiffs, in addition to their revenue and magisterial powers. Free resort has been had to arbitration, and contending parties have been confronted, to the exclusion of professional makers of mischief and sharpwitted village lawyers. A code of rules has been drawn up for the guidance of arbitrators in civil cases. Its heads are as follows.—The presiding officer of the court is to define the issue of the suit.—The arbitrators must be nominated by the parties themselves, and not by Vakils.—Either party may challenge the arbitrators.—If the arbitrators see cause to take evidence on any point, that evidence must be recorded.—The grounds of the award must be written down, and be pronounced in open court, in the presence of the parties, and the award can only be final, when confirmed by the presiding officer. The intent of these rules is to make the administration of civil justice popular and simple ; but their success as yet must be pronounced partial. Civil justice, in any part of India, will always present most grounds for cavil, and a large scope for reform. We shall conclude this branch of our subject, by stating, that in the Punjab Proper, exclusive of the Trans and Cis-Sutlej states, there are at present 228 Thannahs or stations, for the regular police. At each of these is stationed a Darogah or Thannadar, with his Mohurris and Jemadar, and on an average, some thirty Burkundazes. The whole force of the civil or regular police, of various grades, consists of 6,900 men, and besides these, there are the city watchmen, who in Lahore and Umritsar are paid, not by the Chowkidari tax, but by town duties on articles entering these cities for consumption, and the village watchmen, who are to be paid by cash, if possible, in kind, if expedient, and occasionally, by assignments of land. All this is exclusive of the Punjab Police Battalions.

At this point the great measure of disarming the population may find its appropriate mention. The Punjab had not been six weeks under our rule, when this measure was conceived, promulgated and executed by the Board of Administration. The time to carry out so bold a stroke was evidently when the martial population lay prostrate at our feet, ere the moral effect of Goozerat had passed away : while the Khalsa were cowed and humbled into submission. Early studies at Har-

row and Christ Church would remind the Head of the Government of that forcible Homeric line about "the mere sight of the steel drawing on a man to fight," and a statesman of such clear and decisive views readily perceived that, to disarm the population, would give the best security against internal rising, as well as the strongest guarantee for obedience to the common mandates of the civil power. By the proclamation, the possession of gunpowder, or of arms of any description, save under written licenses, was made penal. Owners of villages, and common householders, were not to secrete them : nor were armourers and blacksmiths, who, characteristically enough, were the most expert of all the Punjab workmen, to use the *Vulcania arma* for this object without the same permission. Contravention of these rules was punishable by heavy fines, and where privileges were possessed, by the forfeiture of such privileges. The limits of the proclamation were the Indus on one side, and the Beas on the other, but one exception was made in favour of the warlike and excitable mountaineers of Hazara. The number of arms surrendered, in consequence of the proclamation, was, in the Punjab Proper, about 120,000 of all sorts. Our readers may perhaps care to hear some of the varieties of the weapons surrendered. There were, in one division alone, the usual kinds of swords, matchlocks, pistols, and suits of chain armour. There were carbines, and a kind of blunderbuss, appropriately termed *shér-buchas* or 'lion's whelps.' There were guns, cannons, balls and bullets, three or four kinds of daggers, and two or three different sorts of spears. Finally, there were quoits, which might have been wielded by some chief in the old Greek games, and bows and arrows, the arms of barbarians, which would have excited the inextinguishable laughter of Major Dugald Dalgetty. The good effects of the disarming proclamation are manifest to the most cursory inspection.

One of the earliest subjects to which the attention of the Board was directed, after the settlement of the revenue, and the general security of the country, was the regulation of the excise. We have before alluded to the fact that, by the system established by the Durbar in 1847, duties were levied on twenty articles, instead of on forty-seven. These comprised duties of customs, excise, fines, tolls on ferries, seignorage on mints, and the grand salt tax. For the preservation of this system, the Board found three preventive lines in existence. The first, a line on the west of the Indus, which taxed the merchandise of Central Asia. The second, a line running at the foot of the Himalayas, which taxed the trade of Kashmir. The third, a line running along the Beas, which taxed the produce passing

from the North West Provinces to the Punjab, or that passing between one British province and another. Great changes were introduced in all the above, after mature deliberation, and long correspondence with the Government of Agra. The following is a summary of these vigorous, comprehensive, and beneficial reforms. On the first of January, 1850, all the town and transit, export and import duties, levied in the Punjab Proper, were swept away. The western line of stations, running along the banks of the Indus, as far as Mittunkote on the frontier of Scinde, the line along the foot of the hills, which guarded Kashmir, and the line on the banks of the Sutlej, together with any timber duties levied on the rivers Ravi, Chenab, and Jhelum, were for ever abolished. The whole trade of the Punjab, the trade of Central Asia, the trade of capitalists in our older provinces, was then left to flow, free and unshackled, in every direction. The only restrictions maintained, were in perfect keeping, not merely with the policy of the Indian Government elsewhere, but with general principles of sound administration in any country in the world, under the freest discussion, the largest philanthropy, the most judicious distribution of " burdens and benefits." An excise was to be levied on spirituous liquors and drugs. Stamps were to be introduced in civil and other suits. Tolls were to be levied at public ferries in the Punjab as elsewhere. The salt mines were to be taken under the direct management of the state, instead of being farmed out to contractors, as they had been, and an excise duty was fixed of two rupees a Company's maund, payable on the delivery of the salt, at the mouth of the mines. The only line of customs which it was imperative to extend, was the line of the N. W. Provinces, which is always meant to guard the ingress of salt from Rajputana, and this was prolonged from Fazulkote on the Sutlej, down that river and as far as Mittunkote, below Mooltan. But the reader who will consult the map, will at once see that the only effect of this prevention is to exclude the salt of Rajputana from surreptitiously entering the new British provinces through the native states of Bahawalpore and Bekanir. The actual loss to the state, by the relinquishment of the above duties, was estimated at two lakhs and a half of rupees. The old system had yielded Rs. 18,76,920: the new plan was to give Rs. 16,25,000. But the deficit, it was calculated, would eventually be made up, and it is not easy to appreciate the boon to the people dwelling east of the Sutlej, as well as in the Punjab, conferred by the abolition of every impediment to traffic, by the cessation of all those vexatious and inquisitorial proceedings, which the mere maintenance

of a preventive line entails even with the most cautious management, and by the abundant supply, at a moderate rate, of a first-rate article of universal consumption.

A slight notice of the Salt Mines may not be out of place here. The principal mines open, are those at Khyura or Khewra, and Buggi. When the state assumed the direct working of the mines, the excavation of salt, it was found, was carried on by a rude and unskilful process. The entrances to, and galleries along, the mine, were irregular, winding, and narrow. The carriers of the article, women and children, could hardly pass two abreast. The supply of water was scanty, and what there was, brackish. The place where the salt was weighed before delivery to the merchants, was both confined, and exposed to wind, wet, and heat. A rocky road ran along the gorge to the Khewra mine, and was not easy to be traversed by loaded animals. It was difficult to obtain medical aid for the establishments employed in the weighing and delivering of salt, and in the prevention of smuggling ; and to add to all the above difficulties, the miners, like their brethren in every part of the world, like those Cornish miners in Miss Edgeworth's delightful tale of *Lame Jervas*, were a suspicious, troublesome, and discontented set. The whole of the above difficulties were remedied by the judicious suggestions of the late Mr. Carne, which were cordially supported by the Head of the Government. The road was levelled, the entrances were cleared : good water was provided by wooden troughs, which conveyed a supply from a distance to the mouth of the mines : the blocks of salt were excavated on an improved system : a house was built to protect the officers and merchants concerned in the weightment, from the inclemencies of the weather, and every thing was done to expedite delivery, and to provide against vexatious delays. The rules for the delivery of the salt to merchants, moreover, enabled payment of the duty to be made, not only to the Collector of the customs at the mouth of the mines, but to any officer in charge of a treasury anywhere in the Punjab. On the other hand, prohibitions against smuggling were enforced by considerable penalties. Carriages and packages might be searched on reasonable suspicion. Salt in excess of one seer, not covered by a pass, might be detained within a circuit of ten miles round each mine : no person not licensed, could excavate the article : and the manufacture of salt, which used to be carried on in the districts of Mooltan and Jhung to a considerable extent, in a rough fashion, throughout the Bar or jungle, was put down by law. This salt, made by washing the earth, had been taxed by former Sikh Governors, but sometimes the manufacture had been prohibited altogether. The

British Government, which had removed so many other taxes on trade, and on the very necessities of life, should not be condemned for the enforcement of this single prohibition, which is absolutely imperative for the security of the salt revenue. The importation of salt from the Trans-Indus territory, to the left bank of the river, we should state, was also put down. This prohibition is a bar to the ingress of dark-coloured salt from Kohat, but there is nothing to prevent the tribes on the right bank of the Indus from consuming this salt, which is dug out of mines on their side of the river. The whole revenue derived from the salt mines is now fifteen lakhs of rupees, and there is every chance of this amount increasing, as the facilities of transit became greater. But it is obvious, that if we gain by the increased consumption of rock salt brought towards Hindostan, a proportionate quantity of Sambhur or of Manchester salt must be displaced from that same locality. At present, clever district officers in the Cis-Sutlej division can tell, with the utmost precision, the village or line of villages up to which the rock salt will be purchased and consumed. It is a mere question of the cost of the transit for so many miles, added to the duty originally paid on the article. But that the rock salt of the Punjab is fairly the property of the state, no one but a grievance-monger or a mere enthusiast, will deny.

In order to vary the subject, we shall turn now to other questions which, though not equally prominent in importance, and of less notoriety, are still worthy of mention. The first subject to which we shall advert, is the currency of the Punjab. The privilege of coining money is one to which oriental sovereigns, like the potentates of the West, have attached great weight. It was obviously politic to substitute the coin stamped with Her Majesty's impression for the Nanukshahi rupee, or for other kinds. But this coin was not the only one current in the Punjab. Indeed, a close inspection of the various currencies indicates that for centuries every sovereign or provincial ruler had amused himself with coining money in his own name, and adding to the confusion of the circulating medium. The antiquary, the philosopher, the financier, the historian, might each derive from such a subject ample food for enquiry and thought. First and foremost, purest in substance, most widely known, came the Nanukshahi rupee, of which, in the space of forty-two years, no less than six and a half crores had been coined at the Lahore and Umritsir mints. But of this kind alone there were no less than fifty different varieties, and to add to the confusion, there were sixty-one current kinds of coinage besides. Our readers may easily imagine the perplexity of the lower

orders, the discontent of the native sepoy, the frauds of the money changers, who invariably profited by the exchange, and the dismay of the officials in charge of a treasury. There was clearly nothing for it, but to call in all the coinage at once, or as gradually as the reform could be carried out with safety. The coins, when exhibited in a tabular statement, recalled variously the reign of Zeman Shah, the days of the early Gurus, the invasion of Nadir, the dynasties of Kashmir and Candahar, the Governments of provincial celebrities Mussulman and Sikh, the splendour of the imperial house of Delhi, and the brief ascendancy of some upstart adventurer. In the district of Khangurh, in the Leia division, there were not less than twenty-eight different varieties of these coins in circulation. In Gujarat, Lahore, Umritsar, and Rawul Pindi, though not equally numerous, there were varieties sufficient to cause much perplexity. The value, moreover, of the coinage, varied considerably. The lowest, the Kashmir Phoolawala, was as 66 to 100 of the Company's rupees. The Nanukshahi was sometimes as 101 to 100. This latter rupee, in fact, was a better and purer coinage than the current money of the Company. But the various currencies were called in: large supplies of Company's rupees were transmitted to the Punjab, both from Calcutta and Bombay, and in a few years, the last Nanukshahi rupee will be consigned, with other memorials of Sikh ascendancy, to the tomb of the past.

Another important question, which arose somewhat simultaneously with that of the coinage, was the language of the courts. We have shown how one universal currency was to take the place of several incongruous varieties: we shall now attempt to describe how the Board arranged for the conduct of public business, not by the chimera of one single court dialect everywhere, but by a judicious attention to the local wants and requirements of the people. In the Punjab, it was observed, the dialects which owe their origin to Persian on the one hand, and to Sanskrit on the other, first come in direct collision. The Gourmukki, or language in which the Grunth is written, is more of a sacred than a spoken dialect. The common vernacular of the Bari and Rechna Doabs, though usually denominated Punjabi, is, in fact, a kind of Urdu. It varies from that polished dialect chiefly in its adverbs and pronouns, and of course in pronunciation and in many local terms. But it was often difficult to state exactly what language was most familiar to the people; and sometimes that which was familiar to the people was not easily used by the ministerial or other native officers. In one division, on the banks of the Indus, it was found that

the language in use was the Pushtoo of the Affghans. In the district of Leia, it was asserted that the usual medium of communication was a dialect of Beloochi. In Mooltan one officer stoutly maintained that even the common artisans spoke Persian, and used this language invariably in their documents : while two other officers, in the very adjoining districts, as firmly maintained that the Urdu had been there introduced by the Durbar, and that it was excellently calculated for the despatch of public business. Thus, with differences of dialect and differences of opinion, the Board were somewhat perplexed to decide. At length they proposed the following division of tongues. Persian was to be the language of official business in Hazara, in Peshawar, in the Derajat across the Indus, in the remainder of the Leia division, or in Leia and Khangurli, and in the *district*, but not in the *division* of Mooltan. Urdu was to be the language of the remainder of the Punjab. A very proper proviso was, however, introduced, to the effect that the confession of a prisoner should be taken down in his own dialect and words, whatever they might be. The contemplation of the above facts, leads obviously to reflections, not merely on the propriety of simplifying or facilitating business, but also as to the marvellous growth of the new Indian Empire. We had driven away Persian from our courts in the old Provinces, as a language, which though admirably fitted for diplomacy, for polished letter writing, for the elegancies of intercourse, and for the quick despatch of business, reminded one large class of our subjects of their literature, their laws, and their past dominion, and was unintelligible to those poor peasants, for whose special benefit it is said that the Company's rule has been introduced. But had we really reached a point where, to eradicate Persian, we must teach a new language to the artisan at his loom, the labourer at his plough, and the very children in the streets ? Had the *red line* extended so far, had it so rolled back the original tide of invasion, that in parts of the new acquisition, our revenue phrases, nearly all borrowed from the Persian, our various official terms, the designations familiar to the Surveyor, the Settlement officer, the Criminal or Civil Judge, were to be, not the peculiar jargon of Courts and Vakils, but household words familiar in the bazar and the village ? There is nothing, perhaps, in the whole range of the subject into which the enquiries of the Board were pushed, that can so strikingly pourtray the wide extent of the British Empire. The use of the Persian language, as a common medium of intercourse, between Amla and villagers, British Sahibs and those who claim their protection, in a district within the plains, is a

more telling fact than any thing in a laboured oration, or in a whole code of laws. -

It is well known that few Governors have ever seen more of their dominions than the present Head of the Government has of the Punjab. From east to west, from north to south, he has crossed its rivers, encamped by its most renowned cities, ridden over its plains, and traversed its defiles. A grand want of the Punjab, and one which, indeed, would strike any observer of ordinary penetration, could not fail to attract that provident and piercing glance. We allude, of course, to the scarcity of forests, and forest trees, and even of bushes. Whatever were the causes which had thus denuded the fine rich plains of their chief ornaments, whether the rapacity and the improvidence of Sikh Governors, or other causes, there was no radical defect, no insurmountable obstacle, in the nature of the soil. But the deficiency of large timber was severely felt by the officers in charge of extensive and important public works; and by reason of the wants of the army cantoned at Lahore and elsewhere, added to the spread of cultivation, the supply of fuel from the low jungles was rapidly becoming less. To say nothing of the beauty with which fine groves of trees invest an Indian landscape, there was every reason to believe that plantations of moderate size would increase salubrity. Lord Dalhousie at once acted in the true spirit of that Scotch Laird, whose parting advice to his son was couched in the following terms, "And, Jock, whenever ye ha'e naething else to do, ye'll be sticking in a tree; it'll aye be growing when ye are sleeping." In exact concordance with the above homely phrase, but in the vigorous, graceful, and polished language of one of his well known minutes, Lord Dalhousie directed the Board to select spots for model plantations, to cause trees to be planted along the banks of canals, by dâk bungalows, Chokies or public buildings of any kind, to enlist the sympathies of Head-men and villagers in the scheme, and above all, to remember, that though the present generation would not reap the fruits of the measure, some future Governor of the Punjab might gratefully rest under the shade of the tree which the middle of the present century had seen planted "a bauble," an "auburn nut,"

—————Seris factura nepotibus umbram.

Yet it would be unfair to say that some parts of the Punjab were not tolerably well wooded. There is fine timber all along the foot of the hills in Rawal Pindi. Parts of the Leia division are well wooded, and at a place called Bukkur, in the

Leia district, there is a dense wood, twelve miles long by half as many broad. Date groves are so dense round the cantonment of Dehra Ghazee Khan, as to be almost unhealthy. The valley of Bunnoo is prettily wooded. The "Bar," or centre of each Doab, is covered with thick brushwood, and the numerous islands on the Indus, only twelve years ago, were belted with fine forests, which were unfortunately all swept away by a flood. The Board took up the proposals of the Governor-General with their usual energy and promptness. Those who owned or planted trees, were to find lenient terms on a new settlement. No new cuts would be made from canals, unless the Zemindars agreed to plant trees on both sides of the water courses; young plantations were to be reared at convenient spots round public buildings, and at every half mile along the great road to Peshawar. Canals were to be lined with trees. Measures were to be taken for reproducing the brushwood and low jungle which supplied fuel for cantonments, and which the wood-cutters were in the habit of recklessly cutting up by the roots. Colonel Napier was to plant ground along the Husli canal, to the extent of 12,000 acres, besides rearing fifty detached plantations of 100 acres each. In short, everything was to be done which could husband the present stock of timber, and create a supply springing up for future generations. A search for timber was however not limited to operations in the plains. There were magnificent forests in the Himalayas, in which grew no less than four kinds of pines, besides the elm, the plane, the chesnut, and the walnut tree. Major Longden, an officer of H. M.'s 10th regiment, possessed of rare qualifications, was deputed to report on the supply of timber available from the hills on the right of the Ravi, near Chumha, and admirably did he execute his task. Of splendid trees well-fitted for building, there was indeed no want. The difficulty was, how to get at them. It was found that the hill-men were in the habit of cutting the timber at two distinct periods in the year: during April, May and June, and again in the month of September. The first batch is usually floated down the hill streams as they rise in the rains. The timber cut in September remains buried under the snow for the next year's despatch. But as may be imagined, it was not so easy always to get the forest trees launched down the hill streams, nor when fairly launched, to convey them to the broad rivers of the plains. Some of the finest pieces of timber, if cut, might rot, owing to the sheer impossibility of dragging them to the water's edge: others again had to be precipitated over terrific gorges, and a tree which was purposely selected by Major Long-

den, thirty feet long and fifteen feet in circumference, was hurled violently over a precipice of 1,500 feet, and lost all its branches, and nearly one-half of its length, before it was received into the bed of the Ravi. Then again, timber, when once floated, would get irretrievably jammed in some narrow pass with perpendicular sides, and there was no resource but to wait, until some extraordinary flood should disengage the whole mass, or to let men down by ropes to clear and cut it away. The consideration of a supply in these localities led to further enquiries as to the timber near Simla, round which station wood had been cut with the most reckless improvidence. It was of course desirable to preserve here as well as to reproduce timber: but it was not possible to compel the hill chiefs, in whose territories lay the woods, to preserve them: nor was it likely that model plantations, such as those proposed for the plains, would succeed in tracts remote from supervision by Europeans, and not regularly supplied with water. The remedy here lay in persuasion and remonstrance, to be judiciously employed with the hill chiefs, in the taking of leases of suitable tracts on the part of Government, and in enforcing the rules relative to wood-cutting, through the agency of the head-men, in all forests the property of Government. In ~~all~~ these operations two objects were kept in view: the supply of timber for barracks in the plains, and the supply of timber for building in the hill stations, and of firewood, which naturally was in greater request at such an altitude. It was remarked that four principal causes tended to denude the hills of their clothing, and this to such an extent as to strike every lover of the picturesque with dismay. The villagers used to set the old grass on fire to allow a new crop of tender fodder to spring up, and the fire of course did not spare the finest trees. Cattle were let loose to graze, and thus the young plants were trampled down. Resin collectors deliberately fired thousands of trees in order to collect turpentine, and wood-cutters felled timbers in hundreds, which they allowed to remain rotting on the ground, without the slightest attempt to convert them to any useful purpose. A remedy will henceforth be applied to these evils, as far as it is possible for Government and its officers to apply one: and, meanwhile, it is satisfactory to think that this interesting subject has not been thrown aside, under the pressure of any political, military, or civil business, but has received the most careful consideration, which could be given by a Governor resident on the spot, a witness of the evils, and honourably anxious to leave his successors to benefit by all the rich inheritance of his toil.

It is impossible to quit this subject without adverting to the

"Rukhs" or grass preserves of the Punjab. A sovereign, who paid that attention to his cavalry, which Ranjit Singh and other rulers did, could not be unsolicitous about the supply of grass and hay for horses, and generally for all cattle belonging to the state. Shortly after annexation these grass preserves were deemed of importance enough to require the undivided attention of a single officer, Mr. E. Prinsep, who went heart and soul into the business, and disclosed interesting facts which the native officers would have kept concealed, and on which some of the most energetic Europeans had not the slightest information. The old keepers of the preserves, who filled important offices about the Durbar, derived immense profit from the management. Great jaghirdars had appropriated some of the most productive Rukhs. In others, set apart for the soldiers, the Jemadar of the grass-cutters cleared the whole grass in a few weeks, selling the best in the bazar for himself, and leaving the refuse for the horses of the cavalry ! Mr. Prinsep travelled to each in succession, "beat down" all "opposition" by the celerity of his movements and the earnestness of his enquiries, ascertained the capability of every locality, and reported minutely on the kinds of grass which it produced. Some preserves, it was shown, could afford meadow grass to be cut and carried off to the cantonment. In others, the grass could only be eaten "on the premises," and they were consequently fit for the grazing of cattle. Others were so remote from any station, or so well suited for cultivation, or so poached over by the villagers, that they had either to be leased, or broken up. Other preserves again were noted for the production of grass used in thatching, or employed in the manufacture of ropes and mats, or for a species called the *khai*, of which elephants are particularly fond. Another set of preserves furnished wood of different kinds, suited for fuel, for charcoal, or for the manufacture of well-wheels, carts, ploughs, and other agricultural implements. A particular plant, called the *mulla*, believed to be the young shrub of the jujube tree, was much prized for its leaves, which sold well at Lahore. Only a few of the preserves yielded any timber, and none of it was suited for building. After the whole subject had undergone a careful scrutiny, it was resolved that twenty-four preserves, within a circle of ten coss round Lahore, should be set apart for the use of the cavalry : that three or four in the neighbourhood of Umritsar should be reserved for the same purpose, and a similar number for that of supplying troops on a march with wood and grass. The total number of these Rukhs was ninety-one. The expense of watching and supervising them, by

means of superintendents who had charge of different circles, amounted to 553 rupees a month. The out-turn of the preserves reached from 40 to 50,000 rupees a year. The value of the Rukhs was, however, not so much in the actual proceeds in money, as in the constant and adequate supply of forage thus ensured for the cavalry; and the particulars disclosed by the enquiry are curious, as they are indicative of the peculiar features of the new country, and the impossibility of trusting native officials, as well as of the determination and promptness with which the Lawrences and their subordinates overhauled every department of the state.

From these subjects of local or departmental interest, we turn to another of grand and primary importance—the undertaking of large material works. It was evident, at a glance, that the Punjab required three things, the extension of canal irrigation, a great military road to Peshawar from Lahore, and bridges of boats over the large rivers. These were three grand desiderata, besides those of minor roads for commercial or general purposes, connecting large stations with each other. To provide for works of this magnitude, it was determined to set apart the ferry funds, a sum of one per cent. from the land revenue expressly assessed for public improvements, and an aggregate sum of five lakhs a year from the state. Within the first year of annexation the following works had been resolved on:—1. The improvement of the Husli canal, of which we shall make more detailed mention presently. 2. A great canal running right through the whole length of the Bari Doab. 3. The repair of canals for irrigation in the Mooltan division. 4. A grand trunk line to Peshawar. 5. Various other district roads. All these works were entrusted, not to a Board of Public Works, but to Lieut.-Colonel Napier of the Engineers, an officer of whom it is sufficient to say that he has even exceeded all the expectations that were formed at the time of his appointment, and has fully demonstrated what can be done by one single, able, and effective chief, with a good staff of subordinates, at the head of one of the most important departments of the state. Besides the above, Lieut.-Colonel Napier has also had the charge of all bridges, of all civil buildings, of jails, public offices, and even of military buildings, appertaining to the local and irregular regiments placed under the orders of the Civil Government. As road-making in the Punjab does not differ very materially from the same operations elsewhere, it will be sufficient to advert briefly to the results of the above arrangements, as they stood last year. The line of road from Lahore to Peshawar is 275 miles in extent. It passes over a

country abounding in engineering difficulties of all sorts. It requires embankments when crossing over the valleys inundated by the Chenab and the Ravi. It has to encounter the celebrated Kharian Pass. It must surmount the defiles, and span the torrents of the Rawul Pindi district. It must be carried over four huge rivers. In addition to all this, we should remember that labour has been scarce, that timber has not always been procurable, and that the working parties have been exposed to severe attacks of sickness. But the whole work, under the care of seven officers, who have charge of the seven divisions of the road, is progressing as rapidly as the nature of things will allow: and a continuation of the line from Lahore, for sixty-two miles, to the Wuzeera Ghat, via Umritsar, will connect the Capital with the Jullundur Doab, and the road leading from Loodiana to Delhi. After the above great military road, come the roads of the second class, which are no less than seven in number. The first of these lines will unite Mooltan with Lahore, and Lahore with Pathankote, at the foot of the hills. It is for the most part a fair-weather road, but will be metalled in some places. The second will run along the Chenab from Mooltan to Jhung, Ramnugger, Wuzeerabad, and Sealkote. The third will connect Mooltan and Jhelum. The fourth, from Dera Ismael Khan on the other side of the Indus, to Lahore, will invite the Kafilas of Central Asia to sell their merchandise at the capital. The fifth, starting from the same place, Trans-Indus, will pass by Gojaira, a civil station in the Bari Doab, and eventually open the route for the Affghan trader to Delhi. The sixth will form a link between Attok and the great Peshawar line. The seventh will lead from Gojaira to Ferozepore. Along these lines wells have been dug, and in some instances trees have been planted. The great rivers are to be crossed by floating bridges, which will be broken up in the season of the floods, the boats of which the bridges are composed being serviceable as ferry boats. Besides the several great military and commercial lines, a multitude of fair-weather district roads have been made in many directions, by the local authorities, especially in Mooltan, the Derajat, and the valleys of Kohat, Peshawar and Hazara. To sum up the total of operations in this department, it may be stated that 1349 miles of road have been constructed, that 853 miles are under construction, that 2,487 miles have been traced, and that 5,272 miles have been surveyed. When shall we hear that one-fourth of the above results has been accomplished in Bengal?

From roads we come to the next grand scheme for the

improvement of the Punjab, the extension of canal irrigation. This subject is one, which so far from being overlooked by former Governments, had engaged a considerable portion of their time. Near Wuzeerabad and Sealkote remains were found of old cuts and water-courses intended for irrigation. But it was towards the west that these appliances had been oftener needed and used. The most remarkable of the canals in this division of the Punjab, was known as the Khanwah. It is stated to have been made by a person in the reign of Shah Jehan; it had been improved by Shere Sing; it was of great benefit to the district of Gojaira: Rs. 5,000 were sanctioned, as far back as the commencement of 1851, for the purpose of clearing out the bed of this canal where it had silted up. Besides these, there were some hundreds of miles of cuts and minor canals in other districts of the Mooltan and Leia divisions. In the district of Khangurh alone there were 342 miles of such works, excavated by zemindars, or by provincial governors, or by the cultivators themselves, acting under the compulsion of the Kardars. In the Mooltan division, besides the Khanwah, there are—the Dewanwah, forty miles long, and navigable for country boats for twenty miles; the Sirdarwah, as long as the preceding one, and navigable for twenty-five miles; the Mahomedwah, thirty-eight miles long, and navigable for twelve miles; and the Wallie Mahomed, forty-three miles long, by which boats from the Chenab can reach Mooltan. With regard to these works, it was proposed by Colonel Napier, and assented to by Government, that the old system of clearing them should be maintained in its integrity under proper supervision. That system is, for the zemindars to clear the works, under the superintendence of the revenue officers. A Punchayat of zemindars assemble: decide on the number of labourers, called "cheers," which each village must furnish; enforce either labour or a money payment in commutation thereof; and avail themselves of the superior skill of the executive engineer in the selection of suitable new canal-heads, and in the introduction of scientific modes of clearing out the accumulations, and of sloping the banks. Generally, no water rate is taken, the state being repaid by the increase of cultivation; and where any money is taken, the rate is fixed at eight annas an acre. Besides arrangements for the canals of the western districts, an improved system was introduced for the distribution of the waters of the Sursooty and the Cuggur or Guggur, (two streams celebrated in the Hindu classics, as enclosing the first land occupied by Brahmins, about the exact identity of which there is a grand contention amongst orientalists

remaining unsettled to this day.) Lieutenant Briggs, an officer of great talent and energy, was appointed to regulate the distribution of the waters of these famous rivers, and he managed to settle the business so as to afford much satisfaction to the zemindars concerned, and to the Government ;—a result which the most minute enquiry into local features, and the most diligent ransacking of ancient and modern authorities, is not likely to produce in twice the time, with regard to the famous question, as to whether the Guggur be really the Drishadwati of Manu or not. The amount of labour and delicate management required to settle so many conflicting claims, and to reconcile so many discordant interests, is not easily conceivable, and would occupy far too much time to describe. Of all the old canals, however, to which the attention of the British Government, with its enhanced skill and its large means, was directed, none is more remarkable than the Husli canal. This work, sometimes known as the Shah-i-nahr, or royal stream, was dug about the year 1633 A. D., by the Emperor Shah Jehan, in one of those "spasmodic" fits of philanthropy which have been lately preferred to the judicious and reasonable schemes of the British ruler, and the true nature of which has been so ably exposed by Mr. Kaye. The fact is, that this work of the Mogul Emperor had been commenced, not from motives of philanthropy, nor even from the pardonable wish to increase the land revenue, but from the merest selfish considerations that royal luxury could furnish. Shah Jehan wanted a supply of water for his fountains and his conservatories at Lahore. To attain this end, he caused the Husli canal to be dug, from the Ravi, where it issues out of the hills, to the royal city, a length of 110 miles. This canal fertilizes no desert, reclaims no wastes, creates no villages. It follows the lowest line of the country, where irrigation is hardly needed : it crosses only two torrents : its supply was not more than 200 cubic feet per second: it avoids the "Bar" altogether : it has encountered none of those difficulties which true engineering skill delights to surmount. Of course, it is not denied that the banks of this canal, lined as they are with trees, and decked with rich cultivation, afford a sight pleasing to the eye; but the increase of agriculture had very little to do with the original construction of the work. A branch of this canal feeds the sacred tank at Umritsar, having been constructed for that purpose by the Sikh Government; and pending the magnificent work to which we are about to request the attention of our readers, it is still maintained under Colonel Napier's auspices, at a cost of 20,000 rupees a year : its banks are being planted with more trees :

. its waters are fairly distributed, and it will only be left to itself when a full stream of water shall be poured along the bed of the Bari Doab canal.

This splendid work, a worthy monument of British supremacy, will in its main channel be 247 miles in length. It will traverse the very centre of the Doab, running, as it were, along its back-bone, and in the lower part of the tract will literally call towns and villages into existence, with their agricultural and commercial population. The flow of water in the main channel will be 3,000 feet a second : and provision will be made for an additional supply of 1,500 feet, in all probability, from the Ravi, when it is swollen by the melting of the snow, and the annual rains. At the head of the canal some high land is to be cut through, in order to avoid any danger from the bed of the Ravi, parallel and close to which it was originally thought that the canal should have been excavated. This work, known as the Madhupoor cutting, will cost more than three lakhs and a half of rupees. Then, at various points along the line, there will be expensive works in the shape of boulder rapids, masonry "overfalls," embankments, dams, and escapes. At the thirtieth mile a branch canal will lead to Kussoor, a distance of eighty-four miles, and at the seventh mile of this Kussoor branch, another branch will be cut to Sobraon, a distance of sixty-one miles. On the north side of the main channel, a similar branch will join Lahore, seventy-four miles distant from the main channel. At the 182nd mile of the main stream, occurs what is termed the Satghurrah escape, which will run into the old bed of the Ravi. Up to this point, from its commencement, the canal will be available for navigation by boats, and for the irrigation of land : beyond this, the canal will be navigable as before, but its supply of water will be drawn off only for drinking, filling tanks, and watering cattle. The total length of the canal, with all its branches, will be 466 miles. The expense is estimated at fifty-two lakhs of rupees, and the returns from water rent, mill rent, transit duties, and canal produce, may be about 27 per cent. on the outlay. The above is a brief sketch of the main facts and figures connected with this great work. But it cannot adequately represent the skill of the young engineer officers, Lieutenants Crofton and Dyas, brought to bear on the survey of the line : the ability with which engineering difficulties have either been dexterously avoided, or boldly met : the honesty of purpose, the untiring zeal, the real philanthropy, the deliberate foresight, by which this noble project has been conceived and commenced. To see all this in its true light, the generous advocate of reform and progress, the unsparing oppo-

ment of the Company's Government, the devoted admirer of Mahomedan supremacy, the unselfish patriot, must all undertake a journey to the plains of the Manjha.

Other grand projects are talked about, but at present there is work for all hands, in those already undertaken. At some future day the Ravi and the Sutlej may be connected by a still-water canal ; extensive marshes, prejudicial to health, will be drained, and we see no reason why the large Doab, between the Jhelum and the Indus, which at present lies waste and un-peopled, may not become famous for its Sind Saugor canal.

From material improvements we turn to a subject which, though often discussed in Indian circles, has only of late years assumed the degree of importance which it merits. We mean the erection of jails, with a view to health and ventilation, and the confinement of prisoners, with a view to their reform. Jail discipline is one of those points where in India we lay our own foundation. We have little to build upon : we find nothing to amend. The native ruler cared little for the health or the security of those who had offended against the law : good food, a dry lodging, punishment as a warning and a prevention, the moral improvement of the felon, the means afforded him of gaining an honest livelihood by some useful trade taught in the period of incarceration—with all these topics the regime of Hindu, Mussulman and Sikh has had very little concern. It is much easier to mutilate robbers, to put them to death at once, to release them on payment of a large fine, to enrol them in the army, as in England we used to send desperate poachers to serve in king's ships, than to shut them up in the walls of prisons, to set a watch over them, to provide them with regular employment and daily meals. The vigorous rule of Runjit Sing formed no exception to the general system of dealing with crime. It might be said of his "good old times," as it was said of our own, though from a different cause:

A single jail, in Alfred's golden reign,
Could all the nation's criminals contain.

At the period of annexation, it was said, as already noticed, that there were very few men in prison throughout the Punjab, and even that there had not been a couple of hundreds in jail at once, during any previous period, for the last ~~ten~~ years. Political offenders used to be gently deposited in cool dungeons, or at the bottom of dry wells. Debtors were chained to posts at the great gates of the city, to depend for their livelihood on the precarious charity of passers by. Thieves detected in the act, and with no

powerful advocates or patrons, lost their noses : dacoits their hands, and burglars were haimstrung. Sirdars, Jaghirdars, and provincial governors, had their own systems of *fossa et furca*, summary punishment, and excessive fines. Murderers and thieves were indefinitely kept in confinement, because capital punishment was not often inflicted ; and if the man who had taken another's life, could only find some staunch friend to plead for him, he might enlist in the army, and in a month's time, be seen scaling the walls of Mooltan, exacting revenue from the Wuzeerees, or be fighting in the defiles of Hazara. *

It was obvious that there was nothing for our administrators to take lessons from in this : nothing which, as in the revenue or police system, or in primitive irrigation, might be modified or improved by British superintendence and skill. Every thing, from the jail itself, had to be constructed : and the Board determined to construct their jails and their system on the latest models, and on the best tried plans. Accordingly, it was determined that there should be three classes of jails. Of the first class we have only the great central jail at Lahore, which is calculated to contain 2,000 prisoners. It is constructed on the circular radiating system. It is exceedingly healthy, and is divided into two distinct circles, each of which will contain about 900 prisoners. The hospital will be within the jail compound, in a separate building, and there will be spaces for the erection of sheds and workshops, where the prisoners may be set to work at in-door labour. The site of the Lahore jail is rather more than two miles from the city, from Anarkulli, and from Mean Meer. The second class jails will contain 800 prisoners, and will be erected at Mooltan, and at Rawul Pindi. Umballa was fixed on for a third jail, but as a somewhat larger district jail than usual will be sufficient there, and as a large jail has been built at Umritsir, the construction of the larger building at Umballa has, for the present, been deferred. The third class jails will be good district jails, in number twenty-one. The cost of the great Lahore jail will be nearly one lakh and a half of rupees : the second class jails will cost 60,000 rupees each. The twenty-one third-class jails, at rather more than 7,000 rupees each, will cost another lakh and a half. In the central or second class jails there will be provided every facility for the classification of prisoners, for the regulation of labour, for solitary confinement when imperative, for improved health and security, and for moral reform. Dr. Hathaway, a gentleman who has evinced a decided turn for jail management, has been appointed Inspector of Prisons, with an assistant ; and he will, no doubt, do everything in his power to introduce

into the jails of the Punjab that uniformity, and those economical arrangements for which the jails of the North West Provinces have lately been remarkable, and without which, we trust, that Bengal Proper will not long remain.

We have thus given a brief sketch of the revenue, of the civil and criminal administration of this great province, of its general aspect, of its excise laws, of its most striking public works, of its remarkable features, and of its jail management. There would be some alloy to the satisfaction which this picture of a good administration presents, were we compelled to state that the cost thereof had exceeded the receipts : that we had gained a loss, and that the additional province would never help us to attain the right side of the sheet. Fortunately, the topic of receipts and disbursements, on which we are just about to enter, is one which will be as gratifying to the statesman and the economist, to Leadenhall-street and to Manchester, as any other which it might be convenient to select. It is necessary to be somewhat explicit on this point, because we have repeatedly heard the question asked—Does the Punjab pay ? And we have lately seen several statements in the Indian and English newspapers, based on some Parliamentary papers, drawn up on what we must term an unintelligible and an unsound principle, which declare that the accounts of the new province are wholly unsatisfactory ; and not two months ago an article appeared in a London newspaper, and speeches were heard in the senate from grave and well-informed members, tending to set the Punjab revenue in a light truly alarming, if the statements had only been true. We shall trust, by a short and clear declaration, to set these alarmists right. Even Mr. Kaye, we perceive, has been led to an erroneous conclusion on this important point. We beg the reader's attention to the difference which we shall make between the revenues of the Punjab Proper, and the revenues of the whole country under the Board. Of course, the country annexed in 1849 ought to show a balance by itself, or annexation was not profitable. But it appears to us, that in reviewing the Punjab finances, as bearing on the whole system of Indian finance, it is unfair entirely to except the old Cis-Sutlej and the Trans-Sutlej divisions, because the additional attention and improved system bestowed on these localities under one central administrative power, has proved of material benefit to them, and has been productive of economy to the state. We will however at first confine ourselves to the districts of the Punjab Proper, that is, to the country for the annexation of which Lord Dalhousie is responsible, and which will ever remain inseparably linked with his name. The total revenue of

this tract, then, has amounted in every one year to 134 lakhs of rupees. In one year, 1850-51, it was swelled to 151 lakhs, by some extraordinary receipts from the proceeds of the sale of state property ; but this addition being temporary, is of course excluded in any general calculation. The annual future revenue will however not be less than 134 lakhs. This revenue is derived from six main sources, which may be divided as follows : 1. Land tax, one crore and five lakhs. This comprises land revenue of every description, including revenue from canals. 2. Excise and stamps, twenty-one lakhs. 3. Tribute from a few great jaghirdars, six thousand rupees. 4. Post office, two lakhs and a quarter. 5. Miscellaneous revenue, being that derived from arrears due to the late Government, proceeds of public sales, prison labour, and the Toshakhanah—five lakhs and a quarter. 6. Local funds, being those of the roads and the ferry funds, and the sale of unclaimed property—two lakhs and thirty-four thousand rupees. Grand total of the revenue of the Punjab Proper, about 136 lakhs ! It will however be safer to consider the annual revenue at two lakhs less, or at 134 lakhs. Now comes the other side of the question. For the first year after annexation, namely, for 1849-50, in spite of extraordinary disbursements, there was a clear surplus of 52 lakhs, that is to say, 82 lakhs were expended out of a revenue of 134 lakhs. In the second year, or 1850-51, the result, from those accidental and temporary causes above mentioned, was even better. The receipts stood at 151 lakhs, and the disbursements were only 87. The clear surplus was thus 64 lakhs, and the two years together gave an aggregate surplus of no less than 116 lakhs of rupees ! It would however be erroneous to suppose that every two years will exhibit similar gratifying accounts : and we are bound to cast a glance forward, and to provide for considerable outlay in various departments of the state. The land revenue, it is believed, may fall off to the extent of seven lakhs, as settlements are revised and lessened. There will be an annual outlay on the great Bari Doab canal. The vested rights and inalienable privileges of pensioners and state idlers will absorb some twelve lakhs of rupees. The judicial, revenue, and excise establishments, will require to be strengthened, to meet the increasing demands on labour and time. The military police being organized and equipped, will swallow up ten lakhs more than in the previous years. On the other hand, the salt revenue, the excise, the stamps, the post office, and the canals, will yield an increase ; several lapses may be expected in rent-free tenures, and the total revenue will stand, on the soundest and

fairest computation, at what we stated, 134 lakhs. The real decrease will not be owing to a deficiency in the actual receipts or the capabilities of the country, but to the increased expenditure of a thoughtful Government. And the effect of this will be to leave, not a surplus of sixty-four lakhs, as in the second year, nor one of fifty-two as in the first, but one of about twenty-two lakhs, or nearly a quarter of a million sterling. The Board have calculated that for the next ten years more than this surplus should not be expected. But at the close of such a period of time we may look to have a decrease in the expenditure, and an increase in the receipts. The receipts will be swelled by the canal revenue, estimated at fourteen lakhs, and by lapses of Jaghirs granted to aged incumbents for their lives, on the demise of whom the Government will step in and enjoy the dues of the Jaghirdar. The expenditure will be reduced, because all the grand works will by that time have been completed, because the operations of the survey will have been brought to a close, and because pensions granted in cash will be falling in every day. It is thus no unreasonable hope, that in the year 1863, with every liberal scheme fully carried out, with an adequate complement of native and European officers in every department, with bridges laid down, with roads raised above the flood level, with capacious jails, with navigable canals, with rights recorded, and the boundaries of villages and estates well-defined, the Punjab Proper will be paying into the general treasury an annual surplus of half a million sterling. The above calculation is based on past experience, and on something beyond mere probabilities. The cash pensions alone aggregate twelve lakhs of rupees: the temporary alienations of the revenue in rent-free tenures, reach to twenty-five lakhs, the land revenue is more likely to rise, owing to extended cultivation, than to decrease from any disclosures of heavy assessment. The excise, the stamps, the post office, and other minor sources of profit, will gradually become more productive. We have often been warned of the danger of lending too credulous an ear to those who point to new conquests as the means of getting out of debt. But as regards the past, we have dealt with nothing but *absolute facts*, and if there is no regard to be paid to such expectations as we hold out for the future, provided no startling catastrophes occur, there is an end of all attempts to argue on contingencies.

But we have not included in our financial statements the revenues of the Trans and Cis-Sutlej divisions. It was proper at first to show the actual results of the campaign of 1848-49: it would be unfair not to give the late Board, who have virtu-

ally been administering the affairs of a separate presidency, due credit for the skill with which they have managed the older cessions. The picture here may fairly warrant as glowing a eulogy, as warm an admiration, as fearless a boast. The revenue from the above two divisions amounts to sixty-seven lakhs a year; the expenses average thirty-five lakhs, and the surplus is thus thirty-two lakhs. For the year 1850-51 the total available surplus from the *whole territory* under the Board, that is for the tract leading from the mouth of the Khyber to the frontiers of Bhuttiana, from the Himalayas to the Soliman range, was no less than eighty lakhs of Company's rupees, or £800,000 sterling. And the surplus which may be expected every ensuing year from the Jullunder and Cis-Sutlej territories, is estimated not at thirty or thirty-two lakhs, but at thirty-nine. Thus, with every expense for which the energy and the philanthropy of our administrators can provide, the amount of revenue which the state will have at its disposal, for the next ten years, from the Punjab Proper and from the Cis and Trans-Sutlej divisions, will be no less than sixty-one lakhs of rupees: and at the expiration of ten years the surplus will exceed what it stood at for the year ending April, 1851, when it was eighty lakhs or eight hundred thousand pounds.

Such facts as these require but little additional comment. But to avoid any possibility of misrepresentation, and to remove any lingering doubts, we will state exactly what is meant by the above surplus. We have termed it a surplus after the payment of expenses. We will now specify what those expenses are. The expenses paid for before any such surplus has been reckoned are, then, those of the whole civil administration. They comprise the salaries of the highest and lowest officers in the judicial, revenue, salt, and excise departments, of the settlement and survey officers, with their establishments, of the ordinary police, of Lieut.-Colonel Napier and his staff and works, and the amount that falls on the Punjab, rateably, for the offices of audit and account at Agra, no separate offices of the kind having been established for the new countries. The expenses still further include those of the post office and the Tohshakhana, and of the civil buildings: those on account of public ferries; all disbursements to the old Durbar troops, when paid off, and all disbursements to pensioners paid in cash. Lastly, the said expenses provide for the payment of the whole irregular military force of the Punjab: that is to say, for the ten Punjab regiments, five of cavalry and five of infantry, for three batteries of Punjab artillery, for the four regiments of Sikh local

infantry, raised in 1846, for one regiment of irregular cavalry, for the guide corps, for the Hazara mountain police, for all the Punjab police battalions, numbering horse and foot, some 8,500 men, and for other irregular levies serving across the Indus. These forces at first only cost twenty-four lakhs, their expenses gradually swelled to thirty-one, and as they have now been fully organized and equipped, they will cost forty-one lakhs.

There are two items, however, which the above expenses do *not* include, and on which a little further explanation is necessary. The first is the expenditure on barracks for troops not immediately under the Board or Chief Commissioner, as just enumerated. The second is the pay of the regular army. With regard to the first item, all that we can say is, that if it be imperative to build new and large cantonments for Queen's troops,—and no one will think of denying the paramount importance of attending to the health of the soldier—the surplus of a quarter of a million may be absorbed for a year or two. Such an expenditure is fairly debitible to the Punjab. But with regard to the pay of the regular army, we do not see how, on any principles of sound finance or of common justice, the Punjab can be debited therewith, just because it happens at the present juncture to be the most favourable place for the distribution of a large portion of our military force. Some 54,000 men are cantoned in the Punjab, not simply because the population in a newly annexed country requires to be watched, but because our natural frontier in that quarter, which we have now reached, requires the greater portion of our available soldiery. The boundary of the British territory being now the Suliman Range and the Khyber, instead of the Beas and the Sutlej, it is requisite to have troops to protect the country on this side of those ranges of mountains. But we will put the case differently. Suppose that the Punjab, instead of having been annexed, was still an independent kingdom, containing a national, fanatic, and disciplined army, a galaxy of warlike Sirdars, an influential priesthood, and a crowned prince? In that case we should of course be guarding the fords of the Beas and the Sutlej, and Loodiana, Ferozepore, Kartarpore, and Jullunder would be bristling with bayonets, crowded with siege trains, and thronged with officers. Would any man be prepared to argue, that in such a case the expenses of the fifty thousand men, whom political necessity would compel us to keep on the frontier, ought to be debited to the rich plains of Hoshiarpore, or to the sandy tracts of Khytol? Or would it be thought fair to argue, as if the British army so placed, did not protect from invasion the fair

cities of Delhi and Benares, as well as the fertile lands of the lower Ganges, and its unwarlike population? No such reasoning as this would be for a moment tolerated. We may depend upon it that the Queen's and Company's regiments at Rawul Pindi, or Lahore, or Umrtsir, protect the property and secure the peaceful enjoyment of the Calcutta tradesman, and the Bunneah at Benares, equally with that of the priests of the Golden Temple; and the stores of the Kashmir shawl-merchants, and are as fairly to be paid from the general revenues of the Empire, as the great road to Agra, or the Electric Telegraph to Peshawar. Again, is it not likely, that with the Punjab tranquillized, and its disbandied soldiers either enlisting in our regiments, or guiding the plough, we shall be more in a position to reduce our military expenditure, than if we had to watch with feverish anxiety, as in 1844-45, the uncertain movements of bigotted Sodhees, of excitable groups of soldiers, and of reckless Sirdars? Or do we think that with the Khalsa existing in all its vigour across the frontier, we should have maintained on the Sutlej a less army than we now maintain in the Punjab? And what advantage have we not gained from the acquisition of a kingdom slewn to be thus productive, to pay to soldiers wheresoever cantoned, or whithersoever sent?

It is perfectly well known, moreover, that the increase of the regular forces, consequent on the annexation of the Punjab, amounted to two additional Queen's regiments, and to 15,000 sepoys, each regiment of the seventy-four that compose the native army having been raised from 800 men to the full complement of 1,000. These measures entailed an additional expense, the former of ten lakhs, and the latter one of fifteen lakhs. Thus, by debiting this amount exclusively to the Punjab, we swallow up our surplus of a quarter of a million. But we ask, may not the reduction of the army in 1847 have been rather premature? And were we not as likely, some day, to require the *justus exercitus* on the banks of the Sutlej, had that been the limit of the Empire, as on the banks of the Indus, its lawful boundary, and its natural termination? It is our conviction that not one single additional soldier can fairly be debited to the Punjab. The increase was rendered inevitable by general considerations, and would have been still imperative, had we never permanently occupied even the Bari Doab. But, whatever opinions may be held as to the reduction of the army by Lord Hardinge, and its increase under his successor, it seems to us indisputable that the final tranquillization of the Punjab is the only measure which can tend to the consolidation of the Empire: the only one that may really justify the

reduction of each native regiment to a reasonable size ; the only one that relieves statesmen of a vast load of anxiety : the only one, in short, which holds out any reasonable hope, as far as India Proper is concerned, of internal security, sound financial credit, and material reforms.

On the inferences and deductions arising out of the above survey of the Punjab finance question, every one can, of course, form his own opinion : and men will naturally differ as to the precise expenditure with which the new province should be debited. But of one thing we are certain, and that is of the accuracy of our facts and figures. They are taken from complete returns, carefully digested and lucidly arranged by the Board, and we can challenge a close scrutiny without fear that their accuracy will be impeached. We have excluded all minor sums, which only serve to take up space and to confuse the reader, but the totals will stand any test. There are many subjects for congratulation in the Report of the Board, but few more so than the comparison of its balance sheet. "Without money," says Mr. Campbell, "we can do nothing;" and the Punjab Proper, to our thinking, can be viewed in no other light than that of a rich mine, which, without the expenditure of sinking shafts, excavating galleries, and paying workmen, will yield us in ten years' time a clear half million a year.

We turn from a subject which has perhaps not many attractions to the general reader, but which it was incumbent on us to endeavour to set in its true light, to some of the general improvements and minor subjects of enquiry, which have absorbed the little remaining leisure of the Board and the subordinates. It is well known that we never take a new kingdom in India without our soldiers and civilians suffering severely from sickness during the first year of occupancy. Places which are now frequented almost as sanatoria, were literally charnel houses and burying grounds ten or fifteen years ago. The causes of mortality have been variously explained : the general effect is unanimously admitted. Sometimes the troops were packed too closely together. A jungle grew at the back of one cantonment : an annual inundation deluged another : a third was exposed to a wind which, for six months in the year, blew from a pestilential morass. Houses were badly or hastily constructed, or at first, perhaps, there were no houses at all. Sanatory arrangements, when commenced, only seemed to aggravate the evil which they were intended to cure. The accumulated deposit of ages was raked up, and fever and pestilence no longer lurked in corners, but stalked boldly forth as tanks were being cleaned out, and old drains were scoured, and

heaps of filth were removed. To the above causes of insalubrity must be added exposure to climate in the performance of duty, journeys over bad roads in unfavourable seasons, canvass dwellings under a fierce summer sun, the wear and tear of work at all hours, from sunrise to past sunset. There are few men employed as civil officers in the Punjab, who have not had to recruit themselves by a trip to the hills, and several have been actually driven home. But with hills fringing the Punjab on two sides, it was not difficult to find elevated places, where the invalid might breathe a pure and invigorating air. The only provisions requisite were, that the place should be neither too high nor too low : that it should not be too much exposed to the cold piercing winds which at certain seasons sweep the valleys of the Himalayas : that it should have plenty of wood and water, and be easily accessible from the plains. The first site chosen was at a place called Murree, on a beautiful ridge of hills, just forty-five miles from Rawul Pindi. A trial was made of this place in the summer of 1850. At that time there were only two huts on the mountain, but many visitors were content to try the benefit of the air in tents of the poorest description, without medicines and without regular supplies. Yet with every disadvantage, the sick recovered their strength : the choice of the ridge was pronounced good, and in the commencement of 1851, the formation of a hill station at Murree, and the construction of a road to it from the plains, were sanctioned by the Governor-General. But it was soon found that a site once approved, became the nucleus of a considerable population, and that it was necessary to lay down rules for the guidance of the new colony. With this view the following regulations were passed for Murree, were promulgated for general information, and will probably form precedents for other sanatoria of the same kind. We give such details as seem to possess general interests for readers in the plains. A tract was duly marked off, within which the rules were to have effect. The timber in the locality was to be jealously preserved from rude hands. Springs of water were public and not private property. Applicants for sites for building might purchase ground at the upset price of 50 rupees for the first acre, 100 rupees for the second, and so on to ten acres, which was the largest extent of ground to be allotted to a single individual. Houses, when built, were to be taxed at three per cent. of their actual or estimated rental. The funds derivable from this tax, and from the sale of sites, and from a land tax of two rupees an acre, were to be appropriated to local improvements. Defiling springs, turning horses loose to graze, encamping on public paths, and similar acts, were declared

nuisances, and were made punishable. An officer was to be stationed at Murree, to decide petty cases, and especially to prevent hot-headed purchasers of sites from beating or over-reaching the hill-men—an unsophisticated race who require gentle and conciliatory treatment. No doubt, these rules will appear arbitrary, and had they been enacted within hail of Town-Hall oratory, they would have drawn down the usual denunciations against a selfish and oppressive Government. But the occupants of sites at Murree are all the servants of that Government, and the race of honest Anglo-Saxons, professional grievance-mongers, and 'independents,' has not yet begun to flourish in the Punjab.

Murree will be an admirable sanatarium for the Peshawar, Rawul Pindi, and Jhelum brigades. For the Trans-Indus forces it has been found possible to establish another on the Sheik Budeen hill, about 3,400 feet high, sixty miles from Bunnoo, and forty from Dera Ismael Khan. This hill, the resort of some Faquires, whose rights have not been invaded, has been protected by a police post and a slight fortification, quite sufficient to keep off robbers, which that distant region is never without; and the advantage resulting to the officers of the Punjab irregulars, and of the police battalions serving across the Indus, is not easily over-rated.

A third sanatarium, the arrangements for which are still incomplete, will be established at Chumba. The ground has been carefully examined by Major Longden and Dr. Clemen-ger. Both these gentlemen speak in high terms of the great choice of sites, the graceful woods, the surpassing beauty of the scenery, the quality of the water, the chalybeate springs, the moderate rains, the abundance of stone and wood for building, the general local advantages, and the proximity to the plains. From this sanatarium to the foot of the hills the distance is only twenty-four miles, and from thence to Pathankote it is twenty more. The relative distances of the great military stations from Chumba, will best be seen by the following Table :—

Pathankote to Lahore	95	Chumba to Lahore	189
" to Jullundur	75	" to Jullundur	119
" to Sealkote	75	" to Sealkote	110
" to Goozerat	109	" to Goozerat	153
" to Loodiana	105	" to Loodiana	149
" to Ferozapore	140	" to Ferozapore	184

Thus all the troops cantoned anywhere in the eastern and northern parts of the Punjab, from Jullunder to Peshawar, will have every facility for recruiting their sick without sending them some two or three hundred miles to Landour. The Mooltan division is perhaps the only one not provided for in

these arrangements, but hills cannot be created like canals or roads ; and the results are simply inevitable. It must be remembered, too, that officers cannot be permitted to build houses on any spur or ridge which may take their fancy. One house built invites another to spring up near it ; the nucleus of a station is formed, and then come the usual disputes about sites and contracts for building, and servants' wages. This, of course, demands the presence of a civil officer, and such officers cannot always be spared. It has, therefore, been deemed imperative to forbid the erection of dwelling-houses, except at such places as shall be marked out as sanatoria. No doubt, the collector in one case, or the commanding officer in another, would prefer a range one thousand feet less elevated, or ten miles nearer to the plains, but private fantasies must give way to the " exigencies of the service."

Enquiries such as these form a pleasing contrast to the sterner duties and the irksome labour which the police, the revenue system, and the conservancy of jails, have imposed on the local officers. From the health of the body to the training of the intellect, is no very abrupt transition. We shall now proceed to give some account of the means provided under the former Government for the education of the people. Before the Punjab had been two years annexed, Mr. Montgomery, then Commissioner of the Lahore division, whose reports were, somehow, always supplied with greater fulness, and in less time than those of any other officer, had collected, through the agency of his Tahsildars, an immense amount of valuable information, as to the mode in which education throughout the Manjha was provided for, in purely indigenous schools. The result of his enquiries shewed that generally more of the agricultural and commercial population were educated than in Upper India, though instances of remarkable talent or proficiency were more rare. The description and number of schools and students in the Lahore division will be best understood from the following Table :—

<i>Description of Schools.</i>	<i>No. of Schools.</i>	<i>No. of Boys.</i>
Arabic.....	166	1,108
Persian	837	2,188
Hindi	109	2,252
Gourmukhi, or sacred language of the Sikhs.....	83	546
Sanskrit	76	1,311
Schools where the Koran only is taught	255	1,190
Mixed Schools, in which different lan- guages are taught	359	2,905
 <i>Total...1,885</i>		<i>11,500</i>

The above, when compared with the population as estimated, tended to show that about 6 per cent. of the male population, between seven and fourteen years of age, were under instruction. The remuneration of the teachers in these rather primitive schools was precisely of the same kind as that of the indigenous schools in Bengal and Bahar, or in Hindustan. The teacher received monthly wages, averaging from one rupee eight annas to seven rupees eight annas ; or he was fed daily ; or he received so many maunds of grain a year ; or he got presents at the great festivals, or he was allotted some rent-free land. Books were not uncommon, though it is not every village school that has them, and multiplication, the calculation of interest, the writing of Nagari letters, and commercial accounts, were parts of the course of instruction. It was not unusual to find blacksmiths and artisans who could read Persian. Some other curious facts were disclosed to Mr. Montgomery by his enquiries. In the cities of Lahore and Kussoor, he actually stumbled on some *girls' schools*. In the former city, there were no less than sixteen of these schools, with an average of about six girls to each, and a total of 111 scholars. At Kussoor, there were seventeen girls receiving instruction. The pupils were all the children of Mussulmans : the teachers were females, who taught the Koran, and who retired coyly behind the *purdah* while the commissioner *Saheb* made his visit, noticed the pupils, commended the state of things, and finally made each teacher happy by a small and well-timed present. The fact is not without its moral, and the late Mr. Bethune would have not failed to take advantage thereof. But though indigenous literature was alone cultivated, yet there were speedy indications shown of a desire to learn English. The missionaries at Lahore have opened an English school, and have a large attendance of boys. A quick-witted Calcutta Baboo, who had pushed far to the north in search of a livelihood, and whose knowledge of English was not very remarkable, set up a school for himself, drew around him a circle of pupils, and was finally appointed English tutor to the younger members of the family of a Sikh Sirdar, the Sindhan Walla ! Our readers may ponder on this, and perhaps compare with it Rob Roy's doubting to Baillie Nicol Jarvie, whether he should send an advertisement to Glasgow couched in the following terms, "Wanted—a tutor for Rob Roy's bairns." The result of educational enquiries has been the establishment of a Government school at Umritsir, the mart of trade, the seat of manufactures, the repository of Sikh learning, and the shrine of the Sikh faith. In addition to the above measure, an impulse has been given to education in the Hill States, under

the superintendent stationed at Simla. There are five schools in these states, the teachers of which are paid by Government. The instruction is conveyed in Hindi. The children, who are wholly uncivilized, and in some instances without even moral perceptions, are taught to read and write, and acquire, by copying out forms of *parwanas*, bonds, mortgages and letters, that practical information which is likely to be of constant use in life, and is just that which the peasantry from Saugor island to the foot of the hills at Subathoo,—if they ever think of acquiring any thing,—will persist in endeavouring to acquire. But with these exceptions, education has not made much progress under the care of Government, and we should perhaps hardly expect any thing more as yet in such a country as the Punjab.

Among the most pleasing interludes to a grave drama, was that of the attention paid to the historical monuments of the Punjab. The country was not so remarkable as many other parts of India for works of surpassing architectural beauty, or great traditional interest. But at Lahore, and at one or two other places, the attention of the Governor-General was attracted to buildings which, until the last few years, were known only to a few casual visitors, or to profound orientalists, but have now been sketched by many fair hands, and admired by hundreds of wondering eyes. The first monument which claims our attention is that raised to cover the remains of the last great ruler of the Sikh nation, the cool and cautious politician, whose interviews with two Governors-General will long live in the recollection of the officers who witnessed them. This tomb, standing close to the entrance of the Hazoor-i-bagh, has been completed by the expenditure of a considerable sum granted by the British Government, which thus testifies its respect for the name and memory of one of the most remarkable rulers of any age. Of greater antiquity than the above, but of less value in the eyes of a large part of the population, are the tombs of Jehangir at Shahdurrah, and of Nur Jehan at Hussun Abdul : or rather, we should say, the monument at this latter place, with its cenotaph, and its two fine cypress trees of great age and noble proportions, is said to have been intended by the royal favourite for her last resting place. Orders were given for the restoration of these monuments as far as was possible, and for their future preservation from the ravages of time or of more destructive man. The famous Shalimar Gardens received their due share of attention, and the Padashahi Musjid, a magnificent building of red sandstone, ornamented with cupolas of marble, and with lofty minarets, was repaired so far as to prevent the destruction which threatened the mosque

itself and the buildings around it. With the exception of this mosque, erected by the Emperor Aurungzebe, and once, we grieve to say, actually used as a magazine, the other mosques in the city of Lahore, including that of Vizir Khan, were left to be cared for by the Mussulmans, who now enjoy, under the British rule, the free and unrestricted exercise of their religion. But out of Lahore, there were few monuments which could attract the observation, or reward the research, of any lover of antiquities. Subjects of enquiry were not, however, wanting to the scholar. Major Abbott, when the country was in the hands of the insurgents, had, with the cool and characteristic determination of a British officer, amused himself with an attempt to identify the locality of Alexander's battle with Porus, with that of the camp of Shere Sing. The famous Tope at Manikhyala again invited many visitors to examine its solid masonry, to explore its deep well, to purchase the Græco-Bactrian coins dug up around it, and to speculate on the purposes for which such a structure had been raised. But Sikh edifices there were few or none. The Sikhs, as a people, scarce of greater antiquity in India than their latest antagonists, now struggling for existence, now ground down by tyranny, now rising undismayed against their merciless oppressors, had more to do with the destruction of monuments belonging to other dynasties, than with the erection of any of their own. The monuments which we found to be worth repairing were mainly those of Mahommedan rule. A large tank, with walls of masonry, which supplied the town of Buttala with water, was re-excavated at a cost of 1,000 rupees. Two old imperial bridges were repaired not far from the above place, and were actually crossed by the Governor-General on his return from Peshawar. A marble tomb at Thanesur, erected by Akbar, to the memory of a Mussulman saint, which had undergone some strange vicissitudes, and had resounded, at one time to the words of the Koran, at another to those of the Grunth, was rescued from the ravages of the great spoiler; and lastly an old fort at Kullanour, near which it is recorded in history, that the above-named monarch, the greatest and wisest of Indian emperors, was elevated to the throne at the age of fourteen, has been converted into a serai, by an arrangement which will combine respect for the past, with accommodation for the men of this present utilitarian age.

Enquiries such as these, carried on in a liberal spirit, form a graceful contrast to the practical and every-day work of assessing cultivators and trying offenders. They gratify some portion of the subject population, who though not connoisseurs in archi-

ture, are perfectly able to appreciate the difference between a Government that destroys, and one that preserves, objects of veneration. The members of the Board have indeed shewn themselves anxious to ornament and beautify, as well as to give solid advantages. Means of relaxation have been provided for the European soldiers stationed at Lahore. A large garden was set apart for the troops at Anarkullee, and was last year made over to the Horticultural Society, on the understanding that the European soldier should still have free access to the spot. This Society, it should here be mentioned, was formed in the year 1851, for the purpose of raising superior kinds of produce in the Punjab, of improving existing modes of cultivation, of introducing new implements of agriculture, of planting fruit trees, of giving an impulse to silk and other manufactures, of enquiring into the defects and the capabilities of various soils, and in short of doing all that progressive science can do for a country not naturally barren, but which requires a considerable application of capital and skill, to effect the "development of its resources"—we use a phrase which grievance-mongers have rendered positively tiresome—and the prosperity of its agriculturists.

As not unconnected with the foregoing subject, we may here state what has been done for the cultivation of tea in the hills. This subject had attracted the attention of Lord Hardinge, and it has been warmly taken up by Mr. Thomason in the Kumaon and Gurhwal hills. For the plantations in these latter provinces seedlings and Chinese manufacturers have been procured from China, and though difficulties have intervened, and many of the seeds have never germinated, yet Dr. Jameson has been able to extend his operations and to form nurseries in the Kangra valley, the hill district of the Trans-Sutlej division. Last year, after an expenditure of only 3,000 rupees, there were at least 400 acres of tea plants at Holta, in the Kangra district. The plants, without manure or forcing, have come up vigorously, and are available to the Superintendent in sufficient number to enable him to give seedlings to the Zemindars. It is proposed that these gentlemen shall be invited to plant for themselves, on a guarantee of eight rupees for every maund of tea leaves which they may bring to the Government factories. Experienced men, on the part of Government must prepare the produce, at least for some time to come, or India will never have a chance in the market against China. It is in contemplation to draw up a set of simple rules for the information of the cultivators, which shall show them the time and mode of cultivation, the way in which they must clear the ground, plant and

prune, the trees, and guard against damp, and which shall indicate to them the parties who will take the leaves and pay the price agreed on. In short, when a brief Georgic shall have been once drawn up and promulgated on this really important subject, and when the lazy hill Rajpoots shall know *quid faciat laetas segetes*, and under what constellation they may plant their tea nurseries, we may hope that what a late noble Lord uttered in the senate, about the ryots having 'tea but no sugar to sweeten it', may actually be fulfilled, and the poorest class be put in possession of a beverage at once luxurious, healthy, and cheap.

We turn from these interesting topics with regret. They are not one-half exhausted in the above brief summary, but time and space compel us to pass over these and many other points, with only a resumé of what has actually been done. We now come to a subject which has affected a very large class of influential people in the Punjab; we mean that of the rent-free and service tenures. We all have heard of, and some of us may be old enough to remember, the battle that raged when in the Upper and Lower Provinces the question of resuming these tenures was first taken up in good earnest. Able pens were enlisted on the side of Government, to prove the right of the state to its due share of lands seized without title, or retained by fraud. Writers even more able stood forth on the other side, and pointed out, in clear, vigorous, and caustic language, the general vexation and annoyance, the temptation to cloak unlawful possession by unscrupulous forgery, the disturbance of possessors with long prescription on their side, the invasion of rights which had grown complicated by sales, transfers, mortgages, and the other hundred transactions of a litigious and wealthy people, and the discontent and various evils which such a course would infallibly engender. May we not see such an undertaking, or such controversies again! It was to avoid a recurrence of these inquisitorial proceedings after a lapse of time, when lawful rights can only be reclaimed by injustice, some of which is real, and the traces of which are indelible, that the alienated lands were, almost immediately after annexation, subjected to a strict and careful enquiry. But in the Punjab these tenures had neither been bestowed nor retained like those in the provinces. It had long been known how lavishly the Sikh rulers bestowed lands on favourites: how they* confined themselves to no one particular sect or class: how they resumed one year what they granted in the last, and what they might alienate again after a twelve-month, or undeserving applicants: how much these grants were con-

ferred by caprice, and recalled according to the exigencies of the state : how repeatedly they either lapsed on the demise of the holder, or were renewed to his successor, only on the payment of a considerable sum of money. The first care of the Governor-General was to impress on the Board the paramount necessity of prompt measures ; and some clear, simple, and decisive rules were laid down for the guidance of officers engaged in this somewhat invidious duty. With Sir H. Elliot at his elbow, whose knowledge of these tenures is said to be that of a Fleta, or a Littleton, the Head of the Government could hardly fail to furnish the Board with an excellent little code of resumption laws. Premising then that the resumption officers were required to use despatch, as far as was compatible with the attainment of facts, to avoid the extremes of undue leniency and unnecessary harshness, and to bear in mind the certain and quiet possession which the British authority would confer, as contrasted with the capricious grants and the arbitrary recalls of the old rule, we here lay before our readers a summary of the rules which were to guide judges to a decision in the numerous cases of the Honorable Company plaintiff *versus* Man Sing Jaghirdar, or Sheik Selim Faquir defendant. Generally speaking, "vested rights" and cherished privileges were respected. Grants for the maintenance of former rulers, or old proprietors dispossessed, were maintained for the lives of incumbents. Grants made to religious societies of any description, or for the accommodation of travellers, or for weekly or annual charities to the indigent, were to be preserved, provided they were not unreasonably large, for such time as the institution was really devoted to the purpose for which it had been endowed, and the guardians thereof showed themselves peaceful and well-conducted subjects. Regard was paid to the claims of a class of persons, numerous under the Seikh rule, who had either obtained villages, or portions of villages, free of rent or on payment of *nuzzurs*, or had assignments on the public revenue, or had leave to levy certain cesses from the people in addition thereto. Grants made for service, whether religious or military, were to pay one-fourth of their proper revenue, the condition of service being of course dispensed with. Prescriptive right was to be inferred from the undisturbed possession of three generations, even in cases where no title-deeds were forthcoming.* Chiefs who had won their lands by their own good swords, in the days of "rugging and rieving," would receive due consideration. But grants made by provincial governors, Kardars, Zemindars, and others without authority to alienate, would at once be resumed. The above

were found to include most of the cases which fell under the cognizance of the Board. Of course it was not to be expected that cases unprovided for would not arise ; and in several instances, a departure from the strict letter of the code has been permitted. The variety and immensity of the work, especially in the Lahore division, it is not easy to conceive, and it was found necessary to appoint, for the adjudication of these cases, a separate officer, Lieut. Becher, who reported the result of his inquiries through the Commissioner of the division to the Board at Lahore. Huge statements of these tenures, at one time apparently endless in extent, have been surveyed, criticised, and ultimately disposed of. The proceedings being prompt, and the holders of these tenures not being adepts at forgery, there has been very little done in the way of systematic fraud, or attempt at imposition. Naturally, the local officers, impressed with a due sense of the necessity of keeping influential priests and turbulent Jaghirdars quiet, have been a little lavish in their recommendations, while the Government, on the other hand, has been anxious not to alienate for ever the lawful dues of the state, and thus confine or restrict the benevolence of future rulers. The result of this natural or not ungraceful struggle between local and personal sympathies and comprehensive statesmanship has been the grant of comparatively few of those perpetuities which the English Law is said to abhor. Nearly all grants, founded on title or long occupancy, have been upheld for the lives of the occupants ; where the same person had several holdings, the weakest were at once resumed : in some cases valid grants have been declared enjoyable by the second or even the third generation, at an assessment progressively enhanced to one-fourth or one-half the real revenue; in others they may be re-considered at the demise of the present occupant. But viewed in any aspect, the result of these proceedings has been very little irritation and annoyance : the alienations, in cash pensions alone—for it was the practice of the Sikhs to grant money, and it has been that of our Government to commute for money in many instances—amount to eleven or twelve lakhs, and those in rent-free holdings, at the last financial report, were no less than fifteen lakhs. The latter amount has been increasing as the investigations proceed, but it will again decrease as the present generation of pensioners gradually drop off. Eventually, from both these sources, there will be a very considerable accession to the land revenue, probably between thirty and forty lakhs. Our readers may perhaps care to know some of the various sects and classes to which the lavish and undiscriminating favour of Runjeet Sing and his predecessors was extended.

The pensions in cash comprise servants of the late Durbar, Vakeels, and orderlies ; persons employed on household duties, such as would excite Mr. Campbell's just ire ; *langrees* or cooks ; *uruk-kashes* or perfumers ; artists and physicians, whose knowledge was rude and whose skill was contemptible ; confectioners who gratified the palate ; officers and men who had formed part of the regular or irregular Durbar troops, and were unable, from old age, to take service in the new Punjab regiments ; and lastly, the nearest of kin of those soldiers of the irregular force who fell fighting against the British in the Sutlej campaign. The distinction made between those who were arrayed in arms against us in the last war, whose grants were resumed, and those of the earlier campaign, whose surviving relatives were actually supported by the British Government, will on a little reflection be easily understood. The Sikh state still remained in its substantial integrity after the battle of Sobraon. Its existence was guaranteed by treaty ; the acts of its Durbar were essentially valid, and as such were to be respected by the Government that displaced the Regency. The British Government, in pensioning the widows of men who had fallen in battle against us, did only that which the independent native Government had done, or would have done, for its subjects, while it lawfully enjoyed power ; a succeeding dynasty, on whom devolved the liabilities and the rights, was bound to uphold such acts. The Jaghirdars, or the rent-free holders who appeared on the side of Moolraj or Shere Sing, were rebels against the Regency, and as such had nothing to expect from the young Maharaja and his supporters, or from those who took the Government out of the young ruler's hand. In the one instance we did only what the Sikh rulers would have done. In the other, the Sikh rulers could not theoretically, in a legal or constitutional point of view, have granted what we have now refused. The grants of land may be mainly divided into two classes, Jaghirs and Maafi tenures. To the former class belong grants held on condition of service : to the latter, grants, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to some particular institution, to a series of devotional acts, or to purposes of charity. The British Government regarded with equal indifference and impartiality the privileges of every class, and the sacred inclosures of each sect. The first in importance were the Bedees, or descendants of Nanak, who, under their present head, Bikrama Sing, have long enjoyed great influence over the minds of the Sikh community. Next came the Sodhees or Sikh priests, a class quite distinct from the above ; and after them the Grunthees or readers of the sacred volume of the Sikh faith ; men

who in the day of battle, had often been seen reciting passages in the front of the Khalsa. Then there were the sacred classes of the Hindus, Byragis, Brahmins, and Sannyasis; and the Syuds and Faquires of the Mussulman community, besides Dewans, Jats, Khutrees, and Rajpoots; for the comprehensive Sikh policy endeavoured to conciliate all classes, was restrained by no bigotry, and aimed at no exclusiveness. To the present generation, every forbearance was shewn. Thus the pious Mahomedan was permitted to burn his lamp at the tomb of a departed Saint; the Brahmin, who had repaired his roadside well, and planted the ground near it with trees, was to enjoy the produce of his dozen *beeghas* of land; the weekly, monthly, or annual dole of rice to hungry pilgrim or houseless wanderer, was still to be continued; the Serai or Choultry was not to fall into disrepair. Worship might still be performed at the Bonga of the Sikh, the shrine of the Pir, and the temple of the Brahmin. The amount of labour, which these minute investigations have demanded, is not easily conceivable. Holdings of every size, and in a dozen different villages, have been discovered tenable by the same individual; records have been closely inspected, oral evidence weighed, the limits of holdings surveyed, and the application of the proceeds tested. It is impossible that enquiries of this nature can be undertaken and completed without apparent harshness to some one class. The best thing that can be said in their favour is, that they have neither been uselessly delayed, nor unfairly hurried. Every man who had a claim, or a grievance of any kind, who had curried the favour or worked on the superstition and the fears of a former dynasty, buffoon or fiddler, puritan or ascetic, chaunting monk or alms-giving abbott, industrious Jat, thriftless Rajput, hard-working Khuttree, the Faqir with his hut at the foot of a large tree, the Jogi with knotted locks, the Sannyasi with his ashes and his tiger-skin, the Pundit with his *Bywasta*, and the Moulavi with his Koran, have one and all been invited to register their claims, to defend their rights, and to trust to the forbearance and the good policy of the British officer. In cases like these, there is always a vulnerable point. If much is reserved in favour of unworthy classes, we are assailed with a cry of revenues alienated, taxes imposed on the industrious, increasing debts, and undeveloped resources. If much is hastily resumed, we are warned of the danger of arousing the fanaticism and exciting the hostility of a proud priesthood and a disbanded soldiery. We believe that the Board at Lahore have, on this difficult question, pursued a course equally

successful, politic, and wise. It is satisfactory to know that these investigations are already far advanced: that an immense deal of ground has been got over, and that no instances of real discontent have come to notice. In order to lighten the labour of the Local Government, it has lately been thought expedient to grant the Financial or Revenue Commissioner authority to confirm all rent-free tenures of lands under ten acres in extent, for one generation, or for the period of the settlement. The Chief Commissioner has been authorized similarly to confirm all tenures up to fifty acres in extent, and to resume lands of any size at once, on failure of what has usually been deemed a good title; while recommendations for the release of life-grants of above fifty acres, or for the continuance of any holding to the second generation, however small, or for the release of whole villages, or of lands forming the fractional part of a village, will be referred to Government. Another point, with regard to resumptions, is, that the Jaghirdar, whose rights are maintained to him, is compelled to submit to a settlement of the revenue, that is to say, the cultivators or proprietors are duly assessed, and he is permitted to take exactly the Government revenue and no more. Whenever he may demise, the Government will simply step into its own rights, which the Jaghirdar had enjoyed in his life-time. By this means, the Ryots are saved from the undue exactions of a hungry landlord now, and from the trouble of a fresh assessment at his death. The above are the main features of operations in resumption cases, in a territory as fit for their exercise as any in India. When we add that the cases of widows of Jaghirdars, in very indigent circumstances, actually receive substantial proofs of the charity of Government, and that donations in money are always given whenever grants are resumed, while on the other hand, it is laid down, as a general principle, that holders of rent-free tenures are expected to make a suitable provision for their families during their own life-time, and that able-bodied survivors must work for themselves, it will be allowed that the Lahore Board have managed to hit pretty nearly the exact medium between delay and haste, between severity and weakness, between a furious zeal for the dues of the state, and a foolish compassion for the privileges of individuals. Matters in the Punjab, in regard to the alienated lands, in the fifth year after annexation, are about where they were in Bengal seventy years subsequent to the acquisition of the Dewanny.

Before proceeding to draw the general conclusions to which the above survey leads, we think it right to say a few words about the Cis-Sutlej provinces, over which our hold has become

more firm, and our administration more direct, first since 1845, and subsequently after the Punjab campaign. It is generally known, we presume, that our connection with the Protected Sikh states, as they were called, commenced in the year 1808-9, when it was deemed politic to oppose a barrier against the advances of Runjit Sing. Even at this day there are no less than nine States in this division, which are internally independent, which collect and enjoy their own revenue, paying a tribute to the paramount power, which order about their own police, and punish their own subjects. The largest of these, Pattiala, with a revenue of nearly twenty-five lakhs, has often been held up as a model native state, on account of its patriarchal, primitive, or paternal way of governing its subjects. The complications produced by the manner in which the Cis-Sutlej territory had been parcelled out amongst invading Sikhs, have engaged a large share of the Board's attention. Things were not so smooth here as in the Punjab proper. The Sikh horsemen, who first overran the country, had divided it into shares, varying in size from the fief of Pattiala to a fractional part of a village. In some cases they had merely usurped the right of collecting revenue: in others they had ousted the actual proprietors of the lands, Goojars, Dogars and Jats. The interlacing of jurisdiction, the various amount of civil, criminal, and revenue powers claimed by one Sikh chief or another, the questions of succession in cases of demise, the amount of tribute which each chief owed to the Paramount Power, all this made up a tangled mass of business, which required the undivided time and energies of the best officers to reduce to order. The chiefs too, had not felt the iron pressure of Runjit's hand. *The British Government interposing its *Aegis*, they had waxed strong, and had acquired rights, which they were not disposed willingly to surrender. To them it had really been a far cry to Lahore. To deal with such a set, required much tact and suavity of demeanour; and there were conflicting claims which had to be balanced, important questions which had to be ruled, rights to be adjusted, privileges to be curtailed, obedience to be enforced. It was found in 1849, that besides the nine independent states, there were others dependent on the British, and others again dependent on the first nine, and others dependent on one, and on the other power. We do not know that it is possible to present our readers with a fair picture of this complexity, otherwise than by giving a classification of the different states, as it was made by the Board, when the subject was first taken up in earnest. The eye becomes fatigued, and the understanding

perplexed, at the bare recapitulation. The villages are, then, thus classified :—

1. Villages belonging solely to the British Government.
2. Villages belonging partly to the British Government and partly to a sovereign state, the former having Police powers therein.
3. Ditto ditto, the latter having Police powers therein.
4. Villages belonging partly to the British Government and partly to a dependent state, the former having Police powers therein.
5. Ditto ditto, the Police powers being with one of the sovereign states.
6. Villages belonging solely to a dependent state, the Police jurisdiction being with the British Government.
7. Ditto ditto, the Police jurisdiction being with a sovereign state.
8. Villages shared by two or more dependent states, the Police powers being with the British Government.
9. Ditto ditto, the Police jurisdiction being with a sovereign state.
10. Villages shared by two or more sovereign states: the British Government having criminal jurisdiction.
11. Ditto ditto, one only of the sovereign states having Police jurisdiction.
12. Villages belonging solely to a sovereign state exercising Police jurisdiction.
13. Ditto ditto, but the British Government having Police powers.
14. Villages held by two or more sovereign states having joint jurisdiction.
15. Villages showing almost every possible combination of the above forms.

This catalogue, which it is impossible to read without mingled regret and amusement, was rendered more complicated by a division of the dependent chiefs into two classes, termed Zaildar and Tabidar. The former of these terms is explained to mean a chief, who holds his tenure under the *Zail*, or protection of a sovereign state having jurisdiction over him, but who has a right of appeal to the British Government, which, be it remarked, will take to itself the tenure on failure of heirs. A Tabidar, on the other hand, is a chief, who holds under an independent state, but whose right of appeal to the British Government is questioned. Here the tenure escheats on failure, but to the independent states, Pattiala, Jheend, or Nabha, and so forth. The amount of labour by which all these diversified claims and interests were adjusted, may be left to be imagined; we consider it only necessary to state that a village demarcation and professional survey were at once set on foot: that British villages were duly assessed; that where villages belonging to one jurisdiction or the other were isolated, exchanges were gradually and carefully effected, and each jurisdiction was rendered more compact: that the rights of the protected chiefs to protection were duly asserted, and the privileges of the independent states as duly respected: and, in short, that every thing was done to amend a system whose normal state was confusion, and where

the absence of any certainty was the only thing certain. In the case of the survey, the measure was imposed authoritatively only in those states, where the British Government had a right to interfere or to dictate, while the sovereign states were cautiously invited to assent to a scheme so fraught with public and private advantages. Besides this—which comprised a grand dispute between Pattiala and some 119 villages—occasion has been taken to regulate the amount of commutation to be paid by the holders of Horsemen's shares. This has been fixed variously at two and four annas in the rupee, and a broad and yet liberal rule has been laid down as to the right of succession to the shares in question, so called because the mounted Sikhs literally overran the country in their first raids, while each *sowar* took and kept just what he could. By the rule in question, no widows are permitted to succeed: no descendants in the female line are to inherit: and on the failure of male heirs in the direct line, a collateral may succeed, if the common ancestor of the deceased and of the collateral was in possession in the year 1808, when the connexion of the British Government with the Cis-Sutlej provinces first commenced. We trust that the above sketch of the very intricate questions arising in this division, may prove not wholly uninteresting. Less fruitful naturally than other tracts under the Board, tenanted by a population requiring gentle handling and delicate management, it has hitherto, under the able administration of Mr. Edmonstone, exhibited no signs of restlessness, and in the succession of Mr. Barnes to the Commissionership, on the promotion of the former gentleman, there is every guarantee for permanent tranquillity and gradual progress.

The reader who has cared to follow us through our account of the results of the Punjab administration, will probably anticipate the enlogy which we do not hesitate to pronounce. The Punjab is a field in which every administrative measure, carefully devised and patiently tested, has been set in operation: where crude haste, and culpable delay have equally been shunned: where all the experience of past errors, and all the rich inheritance left by successful administrators, have either deterred from *this* danger, or guided to *that* end: where severity has been combined with kindness, strict justice with occasional leanings to privilege, energy with forethought, firmness with tact. The members of the Board, and the Commissioners of divisions, have set the example of unsparing devotion of health and time, of long and laborious enquiry into subjects of almost appalling magnitude, of the freest personal intercourse with natives of all ranks and classes, of

bustling activity of body that has commenced at sunrise, and has terminated with night. This example has been nobly followed by the subordinate officers of all ranks and departments. It appears almost invidious to mention particular names, where all are so deserving of praise; but it is impossible not to recapitulate some of the subjects or departments in which civil and military officers have earned for themselves an exclusive fame. Thus, the cities of Lahore and Umritsar owe to Major McGregor and to Mr. C. B. Saunders, respectively, their admirable conservancy, the lucid order of their streets, the cleansing of old pollutions, and many excellent municipal arrangements. Mr. Fane paved the town of Buttala. In the matter of settlement, the assessment of the Jullunder Doab by Mr. Temple, after the minutest enquiry and on the most equitable principles, is a work which, for lucidity and precision, and for a careful record of existing rights, has probably never been surpassed by even the best officers under Mr. Thomason. Major Lake distinguished himself by the capture of mounted highwaymen: Mr. Brereton hunted out the gangs of the hateful Thug. The whole of the grass preserves, as we have already mentioned, were literally discovered, classified, and reported on by Mr. Prinsep. Capt. Tremenheere wrote copiously on the agriculture, Dr. Jameson on the botanical productions, Dr. Fleming on the geological features, of the Punjab. Major Longden sought for sites where the shattered frame of the invalid might be recruited by the invigorating influence of the mountain breeze. Dr. Hathaway attended to the ventilation of prisons, and to the moral and physical improvement of their inmates. Major Nicholson, Capt. Coke, and Capt. Lumsden distinguished themselves in frontier warfare, in a difficult country, and against wild tribes, where it is no common gallantry, amidst so much soldier-like spirit, that can signalize one officer above another. Lieut. Hodson, marvellously attaching the "Guides" to himself by the ties of mutual honour, mutual daring, and mutual devotion, has, as if to confute Lord Ellenborough, and to make good Mr. Macaulay's assertion, opportunely proved that the discipline of a public school and subsequent academical training, are no disqualifications for hazardous warfare on the Black Mountain, or for the difficult task of keeping wild tribes in check. Major Edwardes, in the truest spirit of chivalry, has lately used all his endeavours to expose the whole system of infanticide, and to rescue the high-born female infant from that premature death to which a mistaken sense of honour, and a perverse pride, would have certainly exposed her.

It would be a gratifying task for the calm and sober historian,

to trace out minutely, the various details of many arrangements which we have only been enabled partially to allude to, and a pleasing duty would it be to enumerate the successive steps which have brought such results about. Mr. Kaye, when he again undertakes the history of the administration of the East India Company, will find here more abundant materials, a field of growing interest, and additional causes for thankfulness, that the Empire of the East has hitherto been committed to men trained under the Great Company's shadow. We do not fear that any querulous opponent of the Indian Government will attempt to impugn the accuracy of our statements: nor do we envy the "frigid philosophy" of that individual, who can advert in terms of cold and formal approbation, to the efforts which have literally substituted, in the short space of four years and a half, order for anarchy, obedience for irregular impulse, gardens for jungles, plenty for barrenness, peace for war. And yet the Government that has effected all this, has, within the last six months, been repeatedly assailed by clamorous whining, presumptuous ignorance, scurrilous invective, and mendacious abuse!

It is at the same time most just that we should not slur over the existence of a combination of favourable circumstances, which have made the administration of the Punjab a series of triumphs. There was nothing to demolish; there were no errors to be repaired; and no ground to be gone over again. In many departments we had only to watch jealously the things which we actually found existing, or carefully to construct an edifice out of a few shattered elements. In others, again, we had to create everything. There were no old crotchetts to be beaten down, no distorted views to be set right, no ponderous reports to be exhumed, perused, and re-perused, no antagonistic principles to be reconciled. In one instance the canvass was there without one single line imprinted on it, and the artist had merely to sit down and call into life whatever features he chose. In others, the old picture had only to be refurnished. Then again the cultivators were the sturdiest and best in all India, Mr. Campbell's good friends, the Jats. Even the *vieux moustache* of the Khalsa settled down in his native village, hung up his sword, or buried it, on account of the disarming proclamation, and as *Economist* long ago predicted, betook himself quietly to the plough. Then to deal with these tractable and honest agriculturists, we had some of the best trained officials in all India. To crown all, for every project started, for every important work, there was at once an expenditure of money which was rather lavish than liberal. We do not grudge a new province all the substantial

aid necessary to give it a fair start, but, we ask, could the result of the Lawrence administration have been as successful, had not the purse strings been repeatedly loosened? To what does Mr. Thomason, in part, owe his justly-lauded success, but to the liberality and cordial support of successive Governors-General? And what would Bengal Proper not be, in a few years, with the expenditure, on roads and bridges and police, of one-half the sum that will be spent on the Bari Doab canal? In short, what can be done for any part of India, without money?

On the other hand, we will not affect to suppress all mention of the few mistakes into which zealous or hasty officers may have fallen. We are almost invariably unlucky in the choice of our stations, and contrive to select for the head quarters of a district the worst spot in it. Thus Sheikhoopora was eventually abandoned for Goojranwalla, and Deenanugger, with its noxious swamp, for Goordaspur. Khangurh was found to be so unhealthy after the annual inundations of the Jhelum and the Indus, that the whole establishment, with two exceptions, were literally prostrated by sickness. In other instances, too, we purchased our experience at a high price. The cantonments at the station of Jhelum were invaded by the river. Wuzeerabad was found not well suited for a large cantonment, and barracks will probably have to be erected at Sealkote, the new station chosen in its stead. In one year sickness broke out in the jails, and its ravages amongst the prisoners at Lahore were literally frightful. The very means taken to purify the city had commenced with the stirring up of the accumulated filth of ages. The population, it seemed, had literally been living with a thin crust between their healthy atmosphere and that of a charnel house. Occasionally, too, an official blunder would occur in spite of all caution. We have heard of cases, where the same rent-free grant was resumed by the Deputy-Commissioner and released by the Settlement Officer, each acting independently of the other. A Burkundaz now and then made off with cash in transit from one place to another. Ignorant police officials arrested innocent persons, and left the guilty at large. Grants were released to men who had long been dead, or summarily resumed from an incumbent who had never been called in to prove his title. In the Punjab, as elsewhere under the very best of Governments, there have been errors from want of due supervision, arising from neglect, from hastiness, from incautious zeal, from intemperance, from presumption, from obstinacy. Where is the Utopia in which these things do not occur? Moreover, apart from all consideration of occasional or personal errors, which admit of a remedy, and serve as a warning, it will be urged, no

doubt, against the Punjab Government, that a large and influential class has been neglected, lowered or crushed by the new system. The men of talent, the men of social or religious influence, have lost their high position. They have no field of enterprise left to them. They are condemned, henceforth, to the indulgence of discontented feelings, or to inglorious ease. Of the great Sirdars, some are in captivity or exile : others have been deprived of their Jaghirs : all have to mourn the departed glories of a warlike army and a splendid court. The Bedees, though maintained in the possession of a fair portion of the alienated lands, have lost more than perhaps any other class. Their religion has received a rude shock : their mandates and their prophecies no longer command respect : they have been compelled, through mere awe of the British power, to abstain from the cherished privilege of female infanticide : they are the weak exponents of fading traditions and of a decaying faith. Thus with the confiscation of lands, the decline of a powerful priesthood, the fall of great houses, and the absence of all that outward show which a martial nation loves to look on, it may be urged that the change of dynasty has not, by any means, been one of unmixed good. Our reply to this is, simply, that no great revolution can ever be accomplished, so as to leave all involved therein, in exactly the same state as they were before. Some parties must suffer. Some interests must undergo a change. Ancient privileges, special immunities, time-honoured rights, will meet many rude shocks. But it being once admitted that one or two classes are inevitably affected in all changes of Government, it may be asked at what period of history, or in what country, have such important and organic changes been carried out with so little harshness, with such indulgent forbearance, with such admirable caution ? And, it being an imperative law of all such vicissitudes, that one set of men shall rise and another set shall descend, in favour of which party should philanthropy arouse herself, or whose position should a good Government wish to ameliorate ? Are we to maintain lazy or seditious priests from the revenues of the state, and to allow a selfish nobility to turn fruitful acres into hunting grounds ? Or shall we earnestly strive to encourage the merchant, to protect the artisan, and to give the cultivator a well-defined boundary, a light assessment, and a secure title ? There would be little hesitation in replying to such queries. It is the indisputable boast of the Lawrences, their associates, and their subordinates, that under their rule the commercial and agricultural interest, not antagonistic as in England, have been wonderfully protected. The Ryot no longer ploughs with a matchlock

and a sword at his side. The village Zemindar no more prides himself on his drawbridge and his moat. The trader to Central Asia or Delhi does not struggle against unjust restrictions and repeated taxes. Security to the wayfarer, the absence of all vexatious interference, the stout constable, the clear highway, the open ferry, the bridge of boats, these, the evidences of good Government everywhere, are now signally conspicuous in the Punjab. We dare say that croakers could be soon found who would deny the evidence of their own senses, and darkly hint at future risings, when discontent shall have grown to a head ; and we think it probable, that readers at a distance may confound an inroad of Shivaranees into the plains with an outbreak of the rural population. Of course, watchfulness and energy, promptness to decide and to execute, will be necessary for some time to come : and no man knows this better than the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. We shall finish this part of our subject by emphatically declaring, that in the plains of those five rivers, life, property, and goods in transit are more secure at this moment, while respect for law is there more apparent, than is the case in districts within one hundred miles of Calcutta, after sixty years of legislation and executive wield-
ing of the law. As for the raids on the frontier, from Peshawar to Kohat, from Mittunkote to Bunnoo, amongst tribes whose profession for centuries has been rapine, such border warfare, we venture to say, is no more to be taken as an indication of a disturbed condition of the plains, than a broken head at an Irish fair, or an affray with poachers in Yorkshire, is to be taken as an indication of the amount of peace and security enjoyed by citizens in Piccadilly or the Strand.

The length to which this paper has run, warns us that we have hitherto been attempting to present to our readers the play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out. But no one in this country will hastily conclude, that Lord Dalhousie has had little or no connection with the introduction of our elaborate machinery of Government into the Punjab : with the course of that severe, simple, and salutary justice : with the remission of so many arbitrary taxes : with the consolidation of that admirable revenue system : with the commencement of those grand utilitarian projects, and the restoration of those ancient historical works : with that laudable anxiety for the peace of the subject, the protection of the traveller, the health of the invalid : with the planting of those forests, where no one of the present generation shall cut a tree : with the conversion of arid plains into corn-fields : with all that unselfish energy, all those kindly sympathies, those fervent aspirations, that genial philanthropy, those

noble aims. There is not a project started which does not bear the impress of his master-hand, the traces of his fostering care, the mark of his commanding spirit. Visiting the new country from north to south, and from east to west, with the head himself to conceive, and with the skill to direct the conceptions of others, happily combining the advantages of that "conference which makes a ready man," and of that abundant "writing which makes an exact man," bestowing quick censure or commendation, reward or punishment,—the Governor-General has seen a great work grow up under his eye, such as no other ruler of India has ever witnessed, nor, perhaps, any future viceroy can ever hope to see. The size and character of the province, its fortunate position, the facilities for the introduction of an improved regime, were all rapidly surveyed by Lord Dalhousie, and no time was lost, no evil remained uneradicated, no past lesson was thrown away. The temple of Janus has been closed in a land where it had been open for a century. Never did any cession or conquest in India afford so splendid a field of action. Rarely has a greater amount of executive talent been put in requisition, and never has a local Government met with such earnest co-operation and such hearty support from the Head of the Empire. Men in England have attacked the Governor-General on account of his absence from Calcutta, as if his sole object had been the enjoyment of the air of the Himalayas, and his only labour an occasional excursion to the plains. They may some day acknowledge, that while not unmindful of the various reforms required in other departments, while organizing Commissions for the Post Office, for the Commissariat, and for Public Works, while making his arm felt everywhere, Lord Dalhousie has taken the most prominent part in the greatest triumph which has yet graced the annals of the Company. Were a rebellion to break out to-morrow in the Punjab, of which we are happy to say there does not appear to be the slightest chance, the fact would not change our sentiments as to what has actually been done. When Mr. Pickwick provides an honest means of subsistence to the fellows who have duped him, Mr. Perker tells him, with more earnestness than is usual with lawyers, that were the two scamps to commit a burglary the very next day, it would not alter his opinion of Mr. Pickwick's noble action ! We look on the Punjab with similar feelings. There are the doings of a British statesman, and of the Company's Officers, and they are honourable and marvellous in our eyes.

It may be, though we hope it not, that in this age, where events crowd fast on each other, we shall have other provinces to

settle, another population to tame, a fresh series of difficulties to surmount, new regions to survey, new rivers to explore. It may be, that, in the fulness of time, when Britain has well played her part, some Hindu Constantine, indebted to the island in the German ocean for an improved social system, a reformed polity, and a purer faith, shall re-construct, on a broader and more durable basis, the shattered fabric of the Empire of Akbar. Or, perhaps, in some remote generation, the delegates of happy and populous provinces, from the plains of Bengal, the hills of the eastern frontier, the sands of Rajputana, and the many-tongued Deccan, Hindus who have discarded caste, Mussulmans free from bigotry, and the descendants of Aborigines unstained by crime, shall meet in some new and national capital, to regulate the affairs of the great Indian Republic, without jealousy, and without intrigue. Or, perhaps, if "a darker hour ascends," when some English conclave of violent partisans and crude legislators shall have gambled away the last stake in this our magnificent heritage, the good rule of the Company shall be estimated, during chaos and anarchy, only by the regret which it inspires, and by the traditions which it has left. But, whether it be deluge or civilisation, the whirlwind or the calm, we will venture to predict that the last five years of the history of the Punjab will not speedily be forgotten. A work has there been accomplished, on which the best friends of the Company may look without apprehension, and its calumniators with all the impotence of despair. It is one, than which a nobler was never contemplated by the best of Roman Pro-consuls, or by the most civilized of Greek colonists: it is one, British in character, but such as men of all tongues and nations may comprehend and admire: it is one which will be linked inseparably with the names of the two Lawrences, and in which, to the latest hour of his life, the present noble Head of the old Scotch House of Ramsay may feel an honourable pride.

~~•~~ In page 241, it is stated that the lowest in value of the various coinages current in the Punjab was the Kashmir Phoolawala. This is a mistake; the lowest of all was the Kashmir Hurree Singee, 100 Rs. of which are worth only 66 Co.'s Rs.; while 100 of the Nanukshahi rupees are worth nearly 101 Co.'s Rs.

ART. VI.—1. Correspondence between the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and the President of the Board of Control, regarding the Arrangement proposed by Her Majesty's Ministers for the future Government of India. Printed for the Court of Directors of the E. I. Company, 1853.

- 2. Further Correspondence, regarding the same, 1853.**
- 3. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, June, July, and August, 1853.**
- 4. MSS. Short-hand Reports, taken by authority, in the House of Commons.**

ON the last day of March, 1853, the Court of Directors of the East India Company, as represented by the two "chairs," wrote to the President of the Board of Control, to ask what was the intention of Her Majesty's Government, respecting the future administration of our Indian possessions. "Referring," Sir James Hogg and Mr. Russell Ellice wrote, "to the period fixed by law for the continuance of the Government of the British territories in India under the East India Company; and referring also to the statement made in Parliament, of the intention of Her Majesty's ministers to propose this session a legislative arrangement for the future Government of India, which, although embracing modifications both in this country and in India, will be founded on the system now existing, we are requested by the Court of Directors to express to you their anxious desire to receive as early a communication as possible of the modifications which it may be intended to propose. We beg to add, on behalf of the Court of Directors, and we may confidently say also on behalf of the Court of Proprietors, that any changes calculated to strengthen and invigorate the existing system, and effectually to adapt it to the requirements of the people of India, and to the development of the resources of that country, cannot fail to secure the cordial concurrence of the East India Company."

To this letter, after a lapse of ten days, Sir Charles Wood, then President of the Board of Control, wrote a reply, the value and importance of which were bounded by the sheet of paper in which it was contained. It was, in fact, an absolute blank. It acknowledged the receipt of the Court's letter, and then went on to say, "It is with the greatest satisfaction that I have received this assurance of the cordial co-operation of the Court of Directors and of the East India Company,

' in the promotion of the good Government of our vast Empire in India, which must be the great object of our common exertions ; and I can assure them that it will be my anxious desire to meet their very natural wish for an early communication of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government on this subject, as soon as it is consistent with my public duty to afford them this information.'

And so, all through the month of April, and all through the month of May, the Court of Directors patiently waited for the promised revelation ; but nothing came to illumine the darkness which reigned throughout Leadenhall-street. Vague rumours were now and then afloat. A storm had been for some time arising, and now it was swelling into terrible significance. A few months before, and the Company had looked out only on blue skies and smooth waters. Nothing could have been more prosperous and more serene than the course which seemed to lie before them. They had almost fallen asleep, as it were, under the lulling influences of a sense of full security. They had basked in the sun-shine of prosperity, until they had drowsed into a state of dreamy repose. But now unmistakeable thunder-growls were beginning to disturb them—mutterings of the coming storm—threatenings of danger and devastation, as though the elements were brewing up for mischief. Suddenly, and from a small beginning, a cloud no bigger than a man's hand—the overhanging blackness cast its shadow upon the regions of Leadenhall. The fair weather was gone. The dream of prosperity was at end—an ugly reality was beginning to stare them in the face.

The old year closed upon the Company without any serious indications of impending danger. But the new year was yet in its infancy, when it became evident that the India House was about to be besieged. An interest had been awakened—there was an excitement at work—in quarters from which nothing had been looked for but blank indifference. The apathy of the public had been assumed. An apathetic public would have made a compliant ministry. The "Charter" would have been re-granted to the Company, with scarcely an amendment or a modification. The whole matter of "renewal" would have been merely one of form. But the pressure from without came, and ministers began to hesitate. It may be said, without any violent presumption, that they did not know what to do. They had, to a certain extent, committed themselves. By implication at least they had pledged themselves to support the Company's Government, and now there was a loud outcry against this Government, and a party was being formed, with

the avowed intention of overturning it. Meetings were being held ; societies were being formed ; petitions were being sent in ; pamphlets were being written—all breathing a spirit of hostility against the Company. This unexpected clamor compelled the ministers, if they had come to any determination about the future Government of India, to pause—or rather, perhaps, it may more truthfully be said, that it compelled them to bethink themselves of the necessity of doing something, in place of that nothing which they had philosophically resolved upon before. But it was hard to say what this something was to be. The Company were not to be sacrificed to popular clamor, and yet something was to be done to appease that clamor. It was necessary to hit upon a compromise.

And so the month of April and the month of May passed over, and ministers gave no sign. The Company, as a body, remained, all this while, profoundly ignorant of what was to be done. One or two of the Directors may, from time to time, have been in personal consultation with the President of the Board of Control, but no official communications were made to the Court. In the House of Commons it was announced that after Whitsuntide, a statement of the ministerial intentions would be made. And then the day of revelation was fixed. The new ministerial project for the future Government of India was to be unfolded on the 3rd of June. But, in spite of this announcement, it seemed that the time had not yet come when, "consistently with public duty," the Board of Control could furnish any information to the Court of Directors. Perhaps, the project was not fairly hatched. At all events, it was not until the 1st of June that Sir Charles Wood forwarded to the India House a "memorandum of the heads of the arrangement for the Government of India, which it appeared to Her Majesty's Government, after full and anxious deliberation, 'that it would be advisable to adopt."

We can only account for what would be otherwise an act of discourtesy, as impolite as unbecoming, by adopting the hypothesis glanced at in the penultimate sentence. If the ministers had not matured their arrangements, they could not impart them to the Company. On previous occasions, the communications which had passed between the two bodies, on the subject of the new Bill, had extended not merely over months, but years ;—and now, in 1853, the Board of Control give the Court of Directors *one clear day* to consider the new scheme for the future Government of India, before it is fairly launched before the world. This was commented upon by Mr. Hume, in the course of the debate on the second reading of

the Bill—and, as the passage to which we refer, contains facts and dates illustrative of the past procedure of Government on similar occasions, we introduce it here :—

It will scarcely be believed, but on the 28th of March, the Directors, as I understand, asked of the Government, " Do you mean to bring in a Bill, or what do you intend to do ? " In the month of April the President of the Board of Control writes back to say not one word about the Bill, but like some of the assurances that we have had lately, Her Majesty's Government do not intend to give you any information whatever upon the subject. Up to the month of April there was no notice of even what the propositions were. On the 1st of June a letter was sent to the Chairman of the Committee, containing seventeen conditions, and calling upon them to take them into consideration. Now, sir, I will state what took place with reference to the Act of 1833. My honorable friend, the Secretary to the Board of Control, will find the whole proceedings of the previous correspondence lying at his office, at the corner of the shelves there, consisting of 450 quarto pages, containing an account of the private proceedings previous to the passing of the Bill of 1833. Sir, if my honorable friend will refer to those proceedings, they will tell him that, on the 12th of October, 1830, the " three chairs " held a meeting at Apsley House, where Lord Ellenborough, with the Duke of Wellington, and some other parties, were present, and they commenced to talk about the approaching changes which they were about to make. On the 28th of that month they met again. Now mark, this was in 1830—and instead of there being only five or six days given to the consideration of the subject, I will undertake to show the House that there was three years' consideration given to it. On the 28th a minute was entered into at Apsley House, between the parties, and on the 30th of March following, Lord Ellenborough, then at the head of the Board of Control—that minute being then signed, it was submitted to the Court of Directors on the 30th of March, and the House will scarcely believe me when I tell them that there are no less than 172 letters and communications in that very voluminous correspondence printed by the Court of Directors, and, no doubt, in the office, shewing reasons, proposing alterations, making objections and rejections, and discussing every matter contained in the measure about to be brought under the consideration of the House. After making this statement to the House, I am perfectly sure that I am warranted in stating and in expressing the conviction that I feel, and which I now express, namely—that sufficient time has not been given to do justice to this subject.

We know that the case of 1833 differs greatly from that of 1853. We need not to be told that, in the former year, the East India Company were called upon to take into consideration the best means of winding up their commercial affairs. They were then about to be deprived of all their commercial privileges—to cease, from the month of April, 1833, to be what they had been for two centuries and a quarter, a company of " Merchants trading to the East Indies." It was an absolute necessity, under such circumstances, that the ministers should take counsel with the Court of Directors. They could not get on without the co-operation of Leadenhall-street functionaries. But no such necessity existed in 1853. The

East India Company had, by this time, become a purely administrative body, and under the existing Act of Parliament their administrative functions were to cease and determine in April, 1854. It was competent, therefore, for Parliament to construct any new scheme, for the future Government of India, on the expiration of the existing lease of power; and all the subsidiary arrangements might be carried into effect by the ministers of the day, without any necessary co-operation with the Court of Directors, who would only have, if it were so decreed by Parliament, to die decently a natural death. But, clearly recognizing and making every allowance for this distinction, we still cannot help commenting upon the very remarkable fact, that although Sir Charles Wood had, in May, announced his intention of bringing before the country, upon the 3rd of June, the new ministerial scheme for the future Government of India, it was not until the 1st of June that he wrote a letter to the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors, "enclosing a memorandum of the heads of the arrangement for the Government of India, which it appears to Her Majesty's Government, after full and anxious deliberation, that it would be advisable to adopt, proposing for the consideration of Parliament such parts of the plan as require legislative sanction in this country." This letter, written on the 1st of June, reached the India House on the same evening—that is, after business hours—so that there was only the one intervening clear day, the 2nd, left for its discussion, before the whole ministerial project was laid before the country. If this were an absolute necessity, resulting from the vacillation of ministers, and their inability to prepare a plan for the future Government of India, calculated in any way to meet the wishes of contending parties, there is nothing more to be said upon the subject. Ministers could not tell the Court what they did not know themselves. But if they had it in their power to make an earlier communication to the Court, the omission was, in the first instance, an act of extreme discourtesy—and in the second, one of extreme impolicy; for it is impossible to conceive that the Crown ministers, on whom especially devolved the duty of preparing the new India Bill, (Sir Charles Wood, Lord John Russell, and Sir James Graham), could have taken counsel with the many able and experienced administrators composing the Court of Directors, without deriving some benefit from the consultation. We have heard that Sir Charles Wood did privately consult one or two members of the direction, but this hardly affects the case, or, in reality, diminishes the discourtesy or impolicy

of the omission of which we complain. Some men may question—some have questioned—the expediency of retaining the name and authority of the Court of Directors; but no one has questioned, no one can question, the expediency, if the Court be retained as a governing body, of treating it with proper respect.

It was on the evening, as we have said, of the 1st June, that the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors received the long-promised and long-expected communication from the India Board. The letter enclosing the memorandum declared that Her Majesty's ministers were "fully sensible of the progress that had been made in India during the administration of the Government of that country by the East India Company, since the passing of the Act of 1833, and of the constant attention which had been paid to this subject by the Court of Directors"—"whilst we are of opinion," continued the President of the Board of Control, "that by some alteration in the constitution of the Court of Directors, it may be rendered a still more fitting instrument for conducting the Government of our Indian Empire, we are most anxious to preserve, unimpaired, the independence of that body, and its freedom from all undue political influence, on which we believe that its efficiency for executing the high trust reposed in it so essentially depends." What the proposed alteration in the form of Government was to be, was intimated in the following memorandum:—

MEMORANDUM.

Heads of the proposed plan for the future Government of India.

1. The Government of India to be continued in the East India Company, with all their existing powers and privileges, and subject to existing restrictions, until Parliament shall otherwise provide.
2. All the provisions of existing Acts and Charters, except in so far as they are altered by the Bill, to remain in force.
3. The Court of Directors to consist of eighteen members, of whom twelve are to be elected by the proprietors, and six to be named by the Crown, out of persons who have served a certain time in India. In the first instance fifteen out of the present thirty Directors to be chosen by the Court, and three only to be named by the Crown, and, on the occurrence of the first three vacancies in the number of the elected Directors, three more to be named by the Crown, till the full number of six is attained.
4. The privileges, qualifications, and powers of all the Directors to be the same in all respects.
5. One-third part of the Directors, both elected and nominated, to go out every second year, but to be eligible for immediate re-election or nomination.
6. The appointments of students to Haileybury and Addiscombe, and also of Assistant Surgeons, to be open to competition, under regulations to be framed by the Board of Control, from time to time, and laid before

Parliament. No alteration to be made as to other appointments to the Indian service.

7. A permanent Lieutenant-Governor to be appointed in Bengal.
8. Power to create a fresh Presidency or Lieutenant-Governorship.
9. The nomination of Members of Council in India to be subject to the approbation of the Crown.
10. An enlarged Legislative Council to be appointed in India. The Governor-General to have a veto on the acts of the Legislative Council.
11. A temporary commission to be appointed in England, to whom the reports of the Law Commission of India shall be referred for their report and suggestions, to be ultimately sent to the Legislative Council.
12. Supreme Court and Sudder Court in each Presidency to be united, and an improved system of judicature to be introduced.
13. Appointment of Advocate-General in each Presidency to be subject to the approbation of the Crown.
14. The Commander-in-Chief of the Queen's forces in each Presidency to be Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces.
15. Present limit of the number of the Company's European forces to be enlarged.
16. Salaries in India to be regulated.
17. Furlough regulations to be amended.

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On the 2nd of June, a special Court (of Directors) was held, we believe, to take into consideration these "heads of the proposed plan." We do not, of course, pretend to know what passed upon this occasion. The visible result, however, is a letter to the India Board, dated June 2nd, in which the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman, on behalf of the Court, briefly comment upon some of the principal features of the new scheme. The chief topic of the letter is the proposal to infuse into the Court something more of the ministerial element. Upon this project, it is observed, and with an undeniable show of reason, that the independence of the Court from all political and party influence is greatly endangered.

The Court further declare that they are willing to make any personal sacrifices "for the prosperity of the most important of the possessions of the British Crown, and the happiness of its vast population;" that they offer no objection to the system of competition by which it is proposed to recruit the Civil Service, the engineer and artillery regiments, and the medical profession, though, in respect especially of the engineers and artillery, they imply some doubt of its success. But with reference to the paragraph, "the Commander-in-Chief of the Queen's forces in each Presidency to be Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces," they emphatically claim for their own officers a fair share of these commands. "We would entreat," they say, "that in any arrangements which may be proposed to Parliament on this subject, it may, as at present, be left open to the Home Authorities to select, occasionally, for

'these important commands, distinguished officers of the Company's service.' A meeting of proprietors was summoned for the 6th of June; and then the Court prepared themselves to listen to the ministerial exposition fixed for the 3rd, of which they were now upon the eve.

This duty had been entrusted to Sir Charles Wood, a clever, but not very profound statesman, whose antecedents seem not at all to have prepared him for the great work which now lay in his path. Of India, until the whirligig of time and the exigencies of office had made him President of the Board of Control in the new Coalition Ministry, he had confessedly known little or nothing. He was a man of quick parts; with a general aptitude for business, rather than any special departmental qualification for office; and as one, therefore, likely neither to distinguish, nor to commit himself in any one situation more than another, he was just the man to fill a gap in the formation of a new Ministry, and to take charge of an office for which no one of his associates was particularly qualified, and which no one particularly coveted. Now, this gap is always very likely to be—and on the last occasion of cabinet-making, actually was—the Board of Control. It is not improbable that, but for his Dukedom, the office would have been conferred on the Duke of Newcastle; but, at such a time, it was essential that the President of the Indian Board should be a member of the House of Commons; and so, Sir Charles Wood, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord John Russell's administration, was appointed to the India Board.

He had a busy season before him, and little time to qualify himself for the performance of the great work to which he was suddenly called upon to address himself. But he applied himself to the business of his department in a pains-taking, conscientious spirit, and being seemingly what, in histrionic language, is called, we believe, a quick study, he got up his part, in a short space of time, with sufficient correctness for the purpose. Fortunately, one or two works on the condition of India under the Company's Government, which had cost the authors months and months of unintermitting labor, had recently been given to the world. They supplied facts, drawn from authentic sources, classified and arranged, in illustration of all the several points of enquiry to which it was known that Parliament would apply themselves. In these elaborate manuals, or hand-books of Indian Government, the minister found all that it was necessary to state relative to the past Government of India, without the trouble of wading through immense masses of

public documents, or ordering his Secretaries and Clerks to make the necessary collections for him ; and he went down to the House, on the afternoon of the 3rd of June, prepared to show what the Company and their servants had done for the improvement of the country, and the amelioration of the condition of the people.

There was a strong gathering of members ; and the seats allotted to strangers, both "under the gallery" and in the galleries, were unusually crowded. In the former privileged seats, the members of the Court of Directors mustered in considerable force, and in the "speaker's gallery" might be seen many men distinguished in recent Indian history—soldiers, administrators, public writers, men of science, the élite of the Company's servants, past and present, then resident in England. Some had shaken off, for the occasion, the apathy and indifference of years. Others, ever keenly interested in the progress of Indian administration, were now more than commonly excited by a strong sense of the magnitude of the event. To every one, directly or indirectly connected with our Indian possessions, the occasion was one of unusual interest. Indeed, to take a broader view of the matter, there can be few more solemn moments, in the parliamentary history of a great nation, than when a minister of state rises to enunciate the manner in which 120 millions of people are henceforth to be governed. When, therefore, all the preliminary formalities, which had so sorely taxed the patience of strangers, had been disposed of, and Sir Charles Wood rose to state the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the future administration of India, there was a dead silence throughout the House everywhere, above and below—the attitude of the assembly was one of intense interest and eager attention. It would have been a noble opportunity for a statesman, full of his subject, with fine oratorical powers, and enthusiasm of the true stamp. A great reputation might have been made on that single night.

But Sir Charles Wood is not an orator ; and he is utterly without enthusiasm. He had got a certain task to perform, and it was altogether task-work to him. He spoke for five long hours ; and it is no small thing that it should be reported of him that he was audible, from first to last, in all parts of the House. During more than three hours he dwelt upon the past performances of the Company and their servants. He dwelt upon the system of administration and the character of the administrators, and demonstrated that "we had not been 'the unprofitable servants, which some speakers and writers had

“ declared us to be.” His speech, as printed and published by Ridgway, is now before us; and it extends over 125 solid octavo pages. He began by claiming something more than the usual indulgence of the House—then, after an allusion to the extreme importance of the subject, he proceeded to enlarge upon the necessity of immediate legislation. Quoting the authority of Mr. Marshman and Mr. Halliday, as evidenced in the opinions expressed by them before the Parliamentary Committees, and, emphatically that of Lord Dalhousie, who, in an unofficial letter, had pointed out the evil of delay, he went on to argue that sufficient information was before the Ministry and before the House, to enable the one to introduce, and the other to pass, a Bill for the future Government of India. One thing, at least, was clear. The very party, which had clamored most loudly for delay—a party, as we shall presently show, always illogical and inconsistent—had, whilst contending that there was not sufficient information to base an opinion upon, clearly shown that its members, one and all, had formed their own opinions, and considered themselves sufficiently well-informed to express them both in oral and written discourse.

“ The Honorable Member for Poole,” said the minister, “ has asked if Her Majesty’s ministers were prepared to deal with the question of the form of Government for India, not being in possession of all the evidence which may be given to the Committees; but, if I am not mistaken, the Indian Reform Association, of which my honorable friend is Chairman, has made up its own mind on this subject of the Government of India, and has announced its intention to oppose any plan, which is not founded on the basis of what is called ‘single Government,’ and which does not utterly put an end to the Court of Directors. They then require no further information, no further time to enable them to come to a decision on the question. I do not object to that Association having made up its mind upon this point; but surely the House and Her Majesty’s Government may also be allowed to have made up their minds; and I trust that, at least, the members of the Indian Reform Association will not urge any arguments in favour of delay.” This, if it does nothing else, certainly puts the Indian Reform Party out of Court. But there was another party also about to clamor for delay—or rather a section of a party, the Stanley and D’Israeli section of the broken Protection Party—who also made their stand upon the alleged necessity of obtaining

* Mr. Danby Seymour.

more information. Of this we shall speak presently. Upon the necessity of immediate legislation, the minister took up his ground firmly and decidedly. "Her Majesty's ministers," he said, "are prepared to lay before the House the plan of Government, which, in their judgment, is best calculated to promote the welfare and prosperity of India. Amend it if you will, alter it if you please, suggest improvements if you can, but let us not refuse to India, as soon as we can give it to her, the best Government we can devise for her permanent welfare."

Having urged upon the House the paramount necessity of immediate legislation, Sir Charles Wood proceeded to place before it a summary of "what has been the result of the administration of India, for the last twenty years." This review he prefaced with the following observations, which are, without question, extremely sound :—

We must not judge of Indian progress by the English standard of the present day. That would be exceedingly unjust and unfair, as it would be to judge of English progress, some time ago, by the standard which we adopt at the present moment for measuring our progress. In India, we must make allowances for a difference of race and a difference of circumstances. We must look at India with something of an Indian eye, and take into consideration all those circumstances, which ought, materially, to affect our judgment in respect to Indian questions. In this country we know that there is every possible stimulus to active exertion, both public and private, public ambition, private rivalry, large capital, general education, and every motive which serves to make an energetic race urge on, in every way, and on all subjects, progressive improvements at a most rapid pace. No prejudices, no antiquated habits or customs, are suffered to interfere. In India, on the contrary, you have a race of people slow to change, bound up by religious prejudices and antiquated customs. There are there, in fact, many—I had almost said all—the obstacles to rapid progress, whereas in this country there exist every stimulus and every motive to accelerated advancement.

All this must be so clear to our readers, that it may appear, in their eyes, mere pompous common-place. But it was not equally clear in England; a large number of those, who had written and spoken on the subject of Indian Government, and denounced, in unmeasured language, the short-comings of the East India Company, had proceeded on the hypothesis that it is just as easy to govern India as it is to govern England, and just as easy to ameliorate the condition of our Oriental dependents as that of our own British islanders. It was very necessary, indeed, in the House of Commons, to preface a review of Indian progress with this *caveat*. Of the review itself we need not speak in detail. Sir Charles Wood dwelt upon our revenue and judicial systems, enlarged on the efforts that had been made to improve both, showed what had been done in the depart-

ment of public works, spoke of the apparent humanizing effects of the Government of India, the suppression of sutti, of female infanticide, of thuggi, &c., and of the civilization of savage tribes by such men as Cleveland, Dixon, Outram, Ovans and Macpherson ; and then summed up the result in the following comprehensive words :—

Now, sir, I fully admit that it does not therefore follow, because all these improvements have taken place, that the Government of India either ever was, or is the best that can be devised; but I say this—that if we are to test the Government by the results of the administration of the condition of India, there is no ground whereupon to condemn it as being negligent and inefficient. I fully admit that if you are to test the present form of the Indian Governments by any known principles upon which Government should be framed, it would be difficult to find so great an anomaly as that form of Government, except the still greater anomaly of our whole Indian Empire. I admit that it is almost incredible, that it is fabulous, that such an Empire as our Indian Empire should exist—that a country of some 2,000 miles in length, and some 1,500 in breadth, containing 150,000,000 of inhabitants, should be ruled by a mere handful of foreigners, professing a different religion, speaking a different language, and accustomed to different habits—that this mighty Empire should be administered by less than 800 civil servants—the number of those servants, be it remembered, not having increased with the increase of our dominion, but having, on the contrary diminished—it seems incredible that a private nobleman or gentleman should be sent there from this country, who, for five or six years, as Governor-General, exercises a power greater than almost any sovereign in the world—that he again should be controlled and governed by twenty-four gentlemen, elected by a body of men not perhaps the best qualified to judge of the merits of a statesman; and that this body of men should be in their turn controlled by an Indian minister, who, in the necessary play of parties, is often put into that position without any previous knowledge of the Government of the country over the destinies of which he is called on to preside. No man, if he were to sit down to the task of constructing a Government for India, would dream of constructing a Government upon such a system for so mighty an Empire. But it must be remembered, that this form of Government has grown up along with the growth of our Indian Empire. Defects there may be in that Government, imperfect it may be, but surely, whatever its faults in theory, it cannot have been so badly administered, when under it that Empire has so grown in extent and in prosperity, and the condition of the people has been so much improved.

All this is just and true. It was not contended that the system of Government was perfect, or that its results were all that they ought to have been. What system of Government is perfect? What is not chargeable with short-comings? It is quite enough that, to use a colloquial expression, "considering all the circumstances of the case," it should appear that we have done well, according to our opportunities. This was all that Sir Charles Wood advanced. It was all that any reasonable man would advance. But it was quite enough for the purpose. It was quite enough, as the basis of an argument

in favor of the expediency of maintaining the existing system of Indian Government. This system was to be maintained. The principle of double Government was to be acknowledged, but certain changes were to be introduced into its administrative machinery. Of these changes we have already given an account;* and we need not, therefore, re-state them, the more especially, as we shall presently give an abstract of the proposed Bill. It will appear, as we proceed, that we do not consider the reasoning with which the ministers supported the contemplated changes by any means satisfactory and conclusive. But we heartily concur in the sentiments expressed at the close of this elaborate speech:—

I have said (concluded the minister) that we do not interfere (officially) in the propagation of our religion among the natives; but on the other hand, I am bound to express my opinion that we have been perfectly right in taking care that those who profess Christianity shall incur no loss in consequence of doing so. Strong opinions have lately been expressed against the passing of the act which prevents the forfeiture of the property of the Hindus on their becoming Christians; but I think that this act is perfectly right, and that no change of faith to any religion, professed in any part of the Queen's dominions, should entail the forfeiture of property. I quite agree, therefore, in the propriety of passing that act. I think that the Government are perfectly right in abstaining from attempting to make proselytes among the Hindus, though at the same time I think that we ought not to allow them to be subjected to penalties, when they do embrace the Christian religion. I hope and trust that the education they are receiving will gradually lead to the reception of our own faith in India; but that result we must leave in the hands of Him who will, in His own good time, bring about that which He desires to come to pass. In so far as improved education enlightens and enlarges the mind, we are preparing the population of India for the reception of a purer faith. But I am anxious to say that I differ from the opinion expressed by a Noble Lord,* to the effect that we ought not to promote the education of the natives, as tending to diminish our hold on India. I should be sorry to think that such was the case. No doubt our Empire of India is an anomalous Empire. Englishmen seldom or never settle permanently there. There is no mixture of English population with the native population. We go, we govern, and we return. I do not believe, however, we shall endanger that Empire, by educating the natives of India. I believe, on the contrary, that if the great body of the natives were educated, and enlightened, and not only educated and enlightened, but still more, if bound to us by the ties of a common faith, we should increase rather than relax our hold upon the Indian Empire. But be that as it may, it seems to me that the path of our duty is clear and plain, to improve the condition and increase the enlightenment of the people. I believe, as I have said, that by so doing we shall strengthen our Empire there, but even if the reverse should be the case, even if the result should be the loss of that Empire, it seems to me that this country will occupy a far better and prouder position in the history of

* See memorandum of Head of Proposed Plan, ante, page 280.

† Lord Ellenborough. See our remarks on this subject in No. XXXVI. p. 473 *et seq.*

the world, if by our agency a civilized and Christian Empire should be established in India, than if we continued to rule over a people debased by ignorance and degraded by superstition.

He sat down amidst loud cheers. It was not a brilliant speech. There was nothing in it to stir the heart or fire the imagination. It was cold and business-like, from first to last, the speech of one speaking because it was his office to speak. But when it is remembered that the subject was new to the minister, that less than a year before he hardly knew what was the constitution of the Supreme Council of India, or whether the Governments of Madras and Bombay were carried on with or without councils, it must be acknowledged that he had learnt his lesson well, and that the speech was that of a clever man. Of course it was not delivered without frequent references to written notes. But few speeches of any magnitude are delivered without frequent references of the same kind, frequent stoppages and stammerings, and shufflings amongst papers, which contain the requisite information, but sometimes get mis-placed, or are not to be found at the proper moment. But, for all this, it was a very fair epitome of the past administrative history of the East India Company, and a very fair paraphrase of the New India Bill. It was remarked at the time, and it has been often remarked since, that it was illogical—inconsequential—that the two great parts into which the speech was divided did not seem to belong to one another; that if the former part were true, the latter was unsound, for that the only conclusion to be drawn from such premises, was that if the existing Government had worked so well, and brought forth such good fruits, it ought to be left just as it is. The very idea of amending it, it was said, was an admission of its imperfections. But in this, they who argued after such a fashion, were only partly right. It is very true that amendment pre-supposes imperfection; we do not attempt to improve perfection. But Sir Charles Wood did not contend that the present system is perfect, or that it cannot be improved. He merely showed, that it has not been barren of good—that its tendency is to progressive improvement, that great advances towards good government have been made, and that there is sufficient reason, looking at past results, to augur well for the future, especially if the present system were somewhat modified, and some of its inherent defects removed. This was the drift of his speech. But it must be admitted that its two parts did not hang very well together, that the transition from one to the other was somewhat abrupt, and that, therefore, there was something apparently inconsequential in the whole. But to

argue, as has been argued, that if the existing Government has worked well, it is not to be improved—or, taking the converse of the proposition, that if it is to be improved, it cannot have worked well, is simply preposterous. If such arguments were to be admitted, what would become of all European institutions? It does not follow that because amendment is desirable, revolution is necessary. No man in his senses pulls down his house, because his dressing-room chimney smokes, or a draft comes in at his dining-room door.

But the imperfections of the existing system, and the expediency, therefore, of amendment, being fully recognized, there is still a question of primal importance to be considered with reference to the ministerial scheme. Is the existing system amended by the provisions of the new Bill? We shall come to consider this great question in due course, but first we must comment upon the arguments of those who differ widely from ourselves, and urge objections against the Bill, the very opposite of those which we shall presently urge against the measure. The objections of which we speak are those of which we must consider Mr. Bright the principal exponent. It had been determined, in council, by the India Reform party, that the great Manchester chief should place himself in the van, and head the charge against the double Government. What was aimed at by this party was not simply reform, it was revolution. The whole principle of double Government was to be attacked. They were to clamor for a single governing body “directly responsible to Parliament.” The East India Company was to be shelved at once, as a useless incumbrance. It was to be demonstrated that the Court of Directors was composed of corrupt and incapable men, that they cared for nothing but the perquisites of office, that they had done nothing to improve the condition of the country, or advance the happiness of the people. The Company was therefore to be consigned at once to the lumber-room of history. It was to live only in the past. This was something fixed, settled, determined. Every thing else in the policy of young India, was vague, misty, obscure.

But although the *policy* of the India Reform party does not seem to have taken any very definite shape in the minds of Mr. Bright and his colleagues, it cannot be said that they had not very clearly determined upon their *tactics*. Their movements were to be regulated upon a system of distribution of labor. Mr. Phillimore was to undertake the judicial business; Mr. Blackett, the financial. Mr. Danby Seymour, the Rupert of the party, was to do the light skirmishing work

to show himself in all parts of the field, and to charge whenever occasion offered, with a rapid discourse *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, everything possible about India, and something besides about the Caucasus and the Caspian. Whilst, not to dwell on the appointed duties of Mr. Phinn, Mr. Otway, Mr. Digby Seymour, and others—Mr. Bright, equal to either extreme, was to attack both principles and persons ; he was to occupy the highest ground and the lowest ; he was to deal in the loftiest generalities, and when he had exhausted them, he was to descend to the meanest personalities ! He led off with the former, and attacked the double Government.

His first speech, on the 3rd of June, was a very clear one ; and it told upon the House. He rose when the minister sat down, as it was known, indeed, that he would rise ; but Sir Charles Wood had occupied so many hours with his preliminary harangue, that the India Reformers, who had hoped to draw out, on that first evening of debate, the great advocate of the Company, Sir James Hogg, were, in this, at least, disappointed at the outset. It was felt that at so late an hour of the evening this must be the closing speech. They who were present on this occasion describe, in antithetical sentences, the marked contrast between the outward aspects of the two men—of the ministerial exponent and the antagonistic reformer—the tall, slender figure of the one, and the burly frame of the other, the constant swayings to and fro of the minister, and the sturdy immovability of his opponent, the one oscillating like a pendulum, the other firmly planted as a rock. Something of the same, too, is observable in their vocal utterances. It is said that the reformer has none of the hesitation of the minister, that he goes straight to his point, with what the word fluency hardly describes. It cannot be said of him as of the old Homeric orator ἀπὸ γλωσσῆς βέβηλον. The words do not seem to flow from his tongue, but to come *imo de pectore*, from his broad, deep chest ; and it would be only fair to add, giving the words a less material interpretation, from the bottom of his heart. There is no doubt that Mr. Bright is a great debater. We express no opinion upon the subject, for indeed we cannot, at this distance, be competent to decide, but the young reformers of the present day seem to look to him, rather than to Mr. Cobden, as their chief. It was once Cobden and Bright. It is now Bright and Cobden. Perhaps it is that the great Anti-corn-law man has fought his battle, gained his victory, done his work ; and that having secured to the country the blessing of cheap bread, his mission is at an end. It may be doubted whether Bright will ever take such a place in

history. It is not our duty, however, to write of these things. All that we have now to do with, is Bright's answer to the minister. We have said that it was a very clever speech, and that it told upon the House. It was his object to attack, in *limine*, the whole system of double Government, and to demonstrate that the Court of Directors of the East India Company ought utterly to cease to be. He began by saying that there was great inconsistency between what Sir Charles Wood had said, and what he proposed to do; "because really, if one were to take his speech as a true and faithful statement of the condition of India, and of the past proceedings of the Indian Government, one would say that he was greatly at fault in making any changes whatever in that Government. At the same time, if his speech be not a faithful portraiture of that Government, and of its transactions in India, I should say that what he proposes to do with regard to the reformation of the Home Government is altogether insufficient for the occasion."

This, he said, he was prepared to show, but before touching upon the Government scheme of reform, he alluded to the course that the Government had pursued, a course which he declared had manifested considerable vacillation. Upon this point we believe that he was right. It seems plain that Government at one time had determined to do one thing, at another time to do another thing, or, perhaps, it might more properly be said, that at one time they had determined to do *nothing*, and at another to do *something*. Sir John Hobhouse's cool, contemptuous reply, when he was asked whether Government intended to appoint a Committee, cannot be forgotten. A Committee ought to have been appointed then, in order that we might have had another year of enquiry. There is little doubt upon this point. Whether there was uncertainty and division in the council of state, we do not pretend to know. There is every reason to suppose that there was. "Various rumours," said Mr. Bright, "have been afloat. One week every one has been quite confident that there would be no legislation at all beyond postponement. Next week every body was quite confident that it would be a sweeping measure, which, I must say, I never believed. I think the prevailing opinion, the week after, was that there was to be a measure like that submitted to the House to-night. It was understood last Saturday that there was to be no measure at all beyond that of postponement. It was asserted so positively that I was one of those who were taken in by the assertion. On Tuesday, my honorable friend, the member for Poole (Mr.

' Danby Seymour) had given notice of a question on this subject, and he was requested not to ask the question till Tuesday. On Thursday there was a Cabinet Council. Whether there was a change of opinion I know not; I presume there was, from the opinion confidently expressed by the noble Lord (John Russell) himself in the House, that legislation was to proceed immediately. All this indicates to me, at any rate, that there has been a good deal of vacillation, and a *good deal of not knowing what was to be done.*" We believe that there really was "a good deal of not knowing what was best to be done."

Having delivered himself of this, which was really the strongest point in his speech, the member for Manchester proceeded to touch briefly on the advantages of a postponement of legislation, and then flung himself headlong upon the double Government. He said it was a Government of secrecy and irresponsibility, that ought not to be tolerated in a free country; that he did not believe that the four-and-twenty gentlemen, constituting the Court of Directors, were worse than any other four-and-twenty gentlemen, but that under such a system of Government India could never prosper. As the minister had, in his five hours' speech, relied much on authority, he would, also, he said, bring forward his authorities:—

Now, sir, the Right Honorable Gentleman has given us the testimony of two or three people on his side of the question. I should like to trouble the House with one or two opinions in this book, which I hold to be the soul of this question. The Right Honorable Gentleman quoted the book of Mr Campbell; it is a very interesting one, and gives a great deal of information, and I do not know why, upon this point, it ought not to be as authoritative as upon any other. He says:—"The division of authority between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, the large number of Directors, and the peculiar system by which measures are originated in the Court, sent for approval to the Board, then back again to the Court, and so on, render all deliverances very slow and difficult, and when a measure is discussed in India, the announcement that it has been referred to the Court of Directors, is often regarded as an indefinite postponement. In fact, it is evident that twenty-four Directors in one place, and the Board of Control in another, are not very likely, very speedily to unite in one opinion upon any doubtful point." That is what obviously occurs to a man who is disposed to write in favor of the Company, and in favor of the Indian Government generally.

There is another authority, the evidence of Mr. Kaye, who has written also an interesting book, which is distributed at the expense of the Court of Directors, and I take it for granted it is a fair representation of their views and of what they have done, inasmuch as the Chairman of the Court of Directors was kind enough to make me a present of a copy of it. Now Mr. Kaye, in referring to the double Government which existed in Bengal, in the year 1772, makes use of these quotations;—when I read them I really

thought they were a quotation from one of my own speeches. "But enlightened," says Mr. Kaye, "as were the instructions thus issued to the supervisors, the supervision was wholly inadequate to the requirements of the case. The double Government, as I have shown, did not work well. It was altogether a sham and an imposture. It was soon to be demolished at a blow." That double Government was the double Government in Bengal, under which the revenue and several other departments were carried on by native authorities, whilst there was a supervising power which was exercised by the East India Company. He says again, "The double Government had by this time fulfilled its mission. It had introduced an incredible amount of disorder and corruption into the state, and poverty and wretchedness among the people. It had embarrassed our finances, and soiled our character, and was now to be openly recognized as a failure." Those are the words Mr. Kaye uses with regard to the double Government existing only in Bengal. Of the double Government existing here he says, "In respect to all transactions with foreign powers, all matters bearing upon questions of peace and war, the President of the Board of Control has authority to originate such measures as he and his colleagues in the Ministry may consider expedient. In such cases he acts presumably with the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. That body is composed of the Chairman, Deputy-Chairman, and senior member of the Court. The Secret Committee sign the despatches which emanate from the Board; but they have no power to withhold or to alter them. They have not even the power to record their dissent. In fact, the functions of the Committee are only those, which, to use the words of a distinguished member of the Court of Directors (the late Mr. Tucker) who deplored the mystery and the mockery of a system which obscures responsibility and deludes public opinion, could as well be performed by a Secretary or a seal!" And further on he (Mr. Kaye) says, "When we are judging of the responsibility of the different branches of the Indian Government, we ought to remember that the whole foreign policy of the East India Company is regulated by the Board of Control, that in the solution of the most vital questions of peace and war, affecting the finances of the country, and therefore the means of internal improvement, the Court of Directors have no more power than the Mayor and Aldermen of any corporation Town." "India depends," he says, "less upon the will of the twenty-four gentlemen in Leadenhall-street, than the caprice of one man, who is here to-day, and gone to-morrow—knocked over by a gush of Parliamentary uncertainty—the mistaken tactics of a Parliamentary leader, or the negligence of an inefficient whipper-in." Mr. Kaye makes this remarkable statement; also he says, "The past history of India is a history of revenue wasted, and domestic improvement obstructed by war." Now this I very much complain of. I admit the right of the East India Company to complain of many things that have been done by the Board of Control, and if we leave those two bodies to paint each other, we shall come to an accurate representation of what they really are. The East India Company charge the Board of Control with making unnecessary wars, and squandering the revenues which the Company collects. I have no doubt at all that that is perfectly true.

And yet Mr. Bright would abolish the "collecting body," and retain the "squandering" one. We shall speak of this more fully anon; in the meanwhile, we would remark that we cannot congratulate Mr. Bright on the felicity of his appeal to written authorities. Mr. Campbell complains of the system

of double Government, mainly on account of the undue interference of the Board of Control. Mr. Kaye, whose book is historical, and who has written chiefly of the past, condemns the double Government of Bengal—that is, the mixed Government of the East India Company and the Soubadar, on our first assumption of the Dewanni. What that has to do with Leadenhall-street and Cannon Row, it is not easy to perceive. Sir James Hogg, on a subsequent evening, pointed out the irrelevancy, if not the unfairness of this quotation. But Mr. Bright quoted other passages from Mr. Kaye's book, which really did relate, in some measure, to the double Government of Leadenhall-street and Cannon Row. They related, as did the quotation also from one of Mr. Tucker's* minutes, to the Secret Committee. The intention of both writers was to show that the double Government was not sufficiently a double Government, inasmuch as in the Secret Committee, by which all matters relating to peace and war were decided, the power was wholly in the hands of one-half of the double Government, *i. e.*, the Board of Control. It was Mr. Kaye's object to point out the injustice of charging the East India Company with the grave offence of squandering the revenues of the country on foreign wars, when of those wars they have been “not the authors, but the victims.” The only inference to be drawn from these arguments and assertions is, that the power of the Board of Control, in the double Government, should be diminished, and the power of the Court of Directors increased. Mr. Tucker, too, contended for at least such an extension of the power of the latter, as would enable the members of the direction, constituting the Secret Committee, to record their protests whenever they disapproved of the measures of the Crown minister. All this was fully exposed by Sir James Hogg, who said—and said truly—that both Mr. Tucker and Mr. Kaye were among the strongest advocates of the double Government.

Mr. Bright, however, quoted these authorities in support of his argument. Now, his argument was, that as the double Government was bad, the Court of Directors ought to be utterly abolished. He is keenly alive to the imperfections of the Board of Control. Indeed, he has more to say against that moiety of the double Government than the other. He

* We are glad to avail ourselves of this opportunity of expressing the gratification which we have felt on perceiving that a selection from the public and private papers of this able and honest statesman has just been given to the world. We content ourselves, on the present occasion, with the bare notice of the fact. When the biography of Mr. Tucker, now in preparation, is given to the world, we shall review at length both the life and writings of this excellent Director.

says, as we have shown, that it squanders the revenues on foreign wars, this squandering being the cause of all the evil results of which he complains. Then he tells us that it is hardly in the nature of things, that the President of the India Board should know any thing of India and its Government—that, during the last thirty years, there has been, on an average, a new President every two years, and that it has happened that there were three Presidents in little more than a month. From this undeniable fact Mr. Bright's inference is that the Court of Directors—the members of which are elected for life—should cease to exist!*

All the evils which are inherent in our Indian administration—all the short-comings of administrators, grappling with difficulties of which the member for Manchester can have no conception, were attributed to the vicious constitution of the Court of Directors. Even the increase of military expenditure—the squandering of public money, which he had before admitted to be the work of the Board of Control, was laid to the account of the drones of Leadenhall-street. The one great idea uppermost in the mind of the reform leader was, that the Company should be utterly abolished. It was not sufficient for him that the body should be horribly mutilated—sawn in half as it were—he desired that it should be ground to powder. But this mutilation was, in his mind, better than nothing. He rejoiced in it as far as it went; and celebrated the misfortunes of the Company with a sort of wild-Indian tomahawk dance, which they who were present in the House of Commons on this occasion, describe as extremely diverting. It amused the House, after midnight, and roused the languid energies of some of the exhausted members:—

The Right Honorable gentleman's plan appears to me to be very much like what we have already. I think there never was so great a cry with so little wool. It comes to this, so far as regards the question about which the public most cares, that the twenty-four gentlemen are, by a process of self-immolation, to be reduced to fifteen. I think it will be one of the most affecting scenes in the history of India; and I hope, as the Company keep writers to defend them, they will employ an artist to paint an historical picture of this great event. We shall see the Honorable Member for Guildford, and the Honorable Member for Honiton, and one of the Honorable Members for the City of London, and twenty-seven others meeting together—they will be

* What the animus of the India Reform party was, may be gathered from a subsequent speech of Mr. Blackett, who said, "I differ from the Hon'ble Baronet, (Sir James Hogg,) when he says that the system of double Government is on its trial at the present moment. The East India Company is, however, I think, now put on its trial, and whether the future system of Government be a single or a double one, that Company is, in my opinion, not fit to form a part of it." In other words, they found a true Bill against both parties, and proceeded to try only the least of the two offenders.

like so many men in a sinking boat, casting lots who shall be first thrown over board, whether the old, the young, the fat, or the lean—it is impossible to say how the choice will fall, but fifteen must go and fifteen will remain; and then, if I understand it, three others are to be added. The result, after certain processes of transition, will be, instead of having twenty-four gentlemen sitting in Leadenhall street, we shall have eighteen, of those six appointed by the Crown, and twelve by the present constituency. Than the present state of things nothing the Right Honorable gentleman could do could make it worse—it was impossible to do any thing with it to make it better, and so he has left it to remain as it is. Just observe his argument for appointing the six. I never heard an argument so completely conclusive against his own case. He wishes to appoint six by the Crown, so that the Crown will be able to choose from eminent men in India, six persons who have been there ten years, and thus we shall insure having six men in the Board of Directors who are suitable for the responsible office in which they are placed—then that argues that the twelve are not such. The composition of the Board has two ingredients—one is wholesome, and the other poisonous. He gives you two drops of the poison for one of wholesome nutriment. He mixes them together, and then he wants to palm it upon this House and the Country as a great measure, and he has promised in his very long speech a very great benefit to be derived from it. I venture to say there never was a speech so great in this House, I mean in length, when the results which people wanted to know were so little. Only think of those twelve gentlemen, those twelve are degraded already. The Right Honorable gentleman has said that six are put there in the way they are put there, because the twelve are not elected in a satisfactory manner, and are not persons fit for the Government of India. That they are bankers and brewers, and men of all sorts in the City of London, who find it to their interest to get into the Court of Directors, by any sort of means—it does not matter by what kennel they get through, they find it advantageous to their business as bankers and otherwise. In point of fact, it is like getting on any other Joint Stock Company, which is a common thing with many men in London. These are the useless majority, while the six are the small dose of something reasonable. I would appeal to the Right Honorable gentleman to abolish the twelve in the name of all that is reasonable; if one class is bad and not to be trusted, if people get on the Board who have no business there, and another class is good, in which the country have confidence, I say you had better get rid of the class which is bad, for they will have the majority as a matter of course—if they are to be equal with the others, they will have the majority, not only in name, but in action.

Now, it must have occurred to every reader of Mr. Bright's speech, that if Sir Charles Wood's address was illogical and inconclusive, the reply to it was still more distinguished by these characteristics. Sir Charles Wood contended that the double Government had worked well, and then proceeded, as he believed, to improve the double Government. Mr. Bright contended that it had worked extremely badly, and that therefore it ought to be abolished. So far both may have been right in their conclusions. But when we come to consider the nature of the improvements or remedies suggested by the two speakers, we see at once that they were both wrong, the Reformer more lamentably, because more demonstrably than the

Minister. Sir Charles Wood argued, as we have said, that the double Government had worked so well, that it ought to be retained, but not so admirably as to suggest the impossibility of improving it. He therefore proceeded, as he believed, to improve it. But the changes which he initiated were at least doubtful improvements, in our opinion they were changes for the worse. The argument against them is soon stated. It is admitted by Sir Charles Wood and his colleagues that it is desirable to maintain the East India Company as an independent administrative body, standing between India and the Government of party. "The efficiency of this body," says the minister, "essentially depends upon its freedom from all undue political influence." [*Sir Charles Wood to the Chairman, &c., of the Court of Directors, June 1, 1853.*] To increase this efficiency, we must, therefore, increase its freedom from political influence; to diminish its efficiency, we must diminish its freedom from political influence. But what did Sir Charles Wood propose to do? He proposed to weaken the independent authority of the Court of Directors, to render it more subservient to political influence—by introducing into the corporation a certain number of ministerial nominees. By his own showing, therefore, the tendency of the measure was to diminish the efficiency of the Court of Directors of the East India Company as an instrument of Government. Now, if it be desirable to maintain the Court of Directors at all, it is desirable to maintain its efficiency. If such a barrier between India and party is to be upheld at all (and in our opinion it is the main safeguard of our power in the East, and certainly the main security for the welfare of the people of India,) it cannot be prudent to weaken it. If it be once admitted that the independence of the East India Company is essential to its efficiency, and that it is expedient to maintain this efficiency, in order that the Government of India may not become the Government of a party, we cannot see how any measure, the tendency of which is to weaken this independence and to diminish this efficiency, can be regarded as an improvement.

Though this is written with especial reference to the speech of Sir Charles Wood, the argument may be applied still more emphatically to the destructive reply of Mr. Bright. The drift of this gentleman's oration appears to be this. The double Government is bad. It has not worked well. The chief proof of its not working well is to be found in the fact, that immense sums have been lavished on wars, neither just nor politic—whilst the amount expended on public works, on education, and other reproductive and regenerative agencies, is lamenta-

bly small. We do not mean that this is all that Mr. Bright alleged against the East India Company, but that it constitutes the main body of his charge. Now the speaker knew well, and indeed virtually admitted, that these wars had been made, not by the East India Company, or the independent moiety of the double Government, but by the ministerial moiety, that is, the Board of Control. From this it results, that the impediment to good Government is to be found, not in the authority of the East India Company, but in the power of the Board of Control. It would be supposed, therefore, that Mr. Bright, from these premises, would argue that the power of the ministerial half of the double Government ought to be reduced. But instead of this, he seeks to render that very authority, which he admits to be the source of the greater part of the mischief, absolute and supreme, by utterly removing the only check that there is upon its misdoings. The logic of this appears to us to be analogous with that of a man who insists that brandy-and-water is bad, because brandy is a villainous compound; and then demonstrates the sincerity of his declaration that he will never taste the said brandy-and-water again, by utterly discarding the water, and drinking the brandy "neat."

Before we dismiss the first and greatest of Mr. Bright's speeches on the India Bill, and pass on to other incidents of the protracted debate, or rather series of protracted debates, we must make a few remarks on the tendency of this very able and eloquent speaker to degenerate into personalities. There is too often apparent in his speeches an endeavour to lower the authority of his opponents, by attributing to them unworthy motives, or discovering private reasons for the opinions which they deliver—a disposition to speak of matters brought under his notice in the course of social intercourse, sometimes deriving from trivial incidents of a private nature mistaken inferences of a much graver kind. We have not observed in the speeches of the supporters of the Government, or the advocates of the East India Company, any similar tendency to cast discredit on their adversaries by imputing to them unworthy motives—by alluding to any grievances or any grudges—any private animosities, which might result from disappointments in one quarter or another. Yet we are credibly informed that some of the magnates of the India Reform party are not wholly unassailable on this score. Be this as it may, it is not to be doubted that the proneness of the member for Manchester—ablest among these able India Reformers—to degenerate to littleness of this kind, very much

weakens the force of his authority—the more especially as his inferences are often wanting in truth. We will take one or two instances of this tendency, relating as they do to gentlemen with whom many of our readers are acquainted, personally or by name. The first of these is Mr. Marshman. Mr. Marshman's authority, as derived from his evidence given before the Parliamentary Committees, was quoted by Sir Charles Wood—and very properly quoted—as that of a gentleman largely and intimately acquainted with Indian affairs. Now, Mr. Bright, anxious, in this as in other cases, to twist the evidence of the supposed friends of the Company to his own uses, said, "I shall take one or two points of evidence from witnesses, whom I am sure the Right Honorable gentleman will not say a word against. He has quoted Mr. Marshman. Mr. Marshman is a gentleman who has great information relating to Indian affairs. I have had the pleasure of a conversation with him. I presume he came over that he might be examined on behalf of the Company. Mr. Marshman is the Editor of a Newspaper in India that is known to be the organ and defender of the Government. Now, in the *Friend of India*, dated the 1st of April, will be found these words, 'No one has even attempted to contradict the fact that the condition of the Bengal peasantry is almost as wretched and degraded as it is possible to conceive,' &c., &c." Now, it is very certain that if Mr. Bright had, as he said, a conversation with Mr. Marshman, and knew all about his coming over to give evidence, &c., he must have known that that gentleman was not in India on the 1st of April. So far then as Mr. Marshman's authority goes, the extract from the *Friend of India* is quite valueless. But what we principally wish to know is, what right had the member for Manchester to say that Mr. Marshman went over to England to give his evidence in favor of the Company, and that the *Friend of India* is the organ of Government? If Mr. Bright could find in that paper such passages as he quoted against the Company, he might have been pretty well convinced that it is not the "organ of Government." The Government have always stedfastly refused, wisely or unwisely, to have an "organ." As to Mr. Marshman's evidence, it appears to us to be characterized by great independence, as it certainly is by great ability. It is certainly not the evidence of a man bent upon supporting the supremacy of the Company.

We will, secondly, allude briefly to the case of Mr. Kaye. Mr. Kaye, as our readers know, has written a book on the *Administration of the East India Company*. Its object avow-

edly was to show that something has been done in India for the improvement of the country, that some progress towards good government has been made. It appears that the Chairman of the East India Company gave Mr. Bright a copy of this book. We are informed that at the house of a mutual friend, a near relative of the Chairman, the latter, knowing that he would meet Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, and wishing to dissipate, by an appeal to irresistible facts, some of the prejudices they had formed, gave to each of these two gentlemen a copy of Mr. Kaye's book, with which he had provided himself for the purpose. Upon the strength of this act of courtesy, Mr. Bright informs the House of Commons, that Mr. Kaye held the brief of the Company, that he wrote at the India House, in comfortable apartments, and that his book had been circulated at the expense of the Company. Now, the fact is, as we are informed on the best authority, that Mr. Kaye had not been inside the India House for some months previous to the publication of his book; that he never had any apartments there; that he wrote an official letter to the Court, asking to have access to the records of the India House, and that the access was granted; that, so far from holding the brief of the Company, he wrote his book under no engagement of any kind with the authorities of the India House; that the Court as a body had no knowledge that it was forthcoming; and, lastly, that it has not been distributed at the expense of the Company's finances. Our own opinion is, that the Company would have done well and wisely, if they had exhibited a little less contempt for public opinion. It has always been a part of their system rigidly to abstain from anything like an attempt to act upon public opinion through the medium of the press. They have never taken any pains to conciliate public writers, but have gone on, from year's end to year's end, suffering themselves to be unjustly assailed, and never bestirring themselves to rebut the unjust charges levelled against them. If proper pains had been taken to lay before the English public, from time to time, true statements of what has been done, for the amelioration of the condition of the country, they would never have had to contend with the antagonism which culminated against them at the commencement of the present year. We believe that it is in no small measure owing to this contempt of public opinion; that the authority of the Court has been reduced, and its numbers diminished. It is curious to contrast the supineness of the Company with the vehement activity of their assailants. If they had employed an experienced public writer to prepare a popular

account of what has been done in India, for the amelioration of the condition of the people, it would, at least, have been a politic movement, and not a dishonorable one. There are some very able men in the India House, who might have prepared such a book. But the India House, in this juncture, sent forth nothing. A gentleman, whose only connexion with the Company was, that he had once held a commission in their army, sent forth a volunteer work, which, not being in the style of the India Reform Tracts, Mr. Bright at once assumed to have been "written to order," and in the India House. His followers in Parliament repeated this declaration, and his supporters of the fourth estate reiterated 'it, with a circumstantial minuteness, which was quite surprising, considering that none of the actors concerned in the alleged transactions had the slightest knowledge of the circumstances so minutely narrated. We cannot help thinking, therefore, that it would be better, all things considered, if so eminent a public character as John Bright were to abstain from speaking, in his parliamentary orations, of what one gentleman said during a morning call, or what another did at a dinner party.

But we willingly turn from such matters as these, to continue our running commentary on the debate on the introduction of the new India Bill. After Mr. Bright had spoken on the 3rd of June, the debate was adjourned to the 6th, on which day Mr. J. G. Phillimore commenced the discussion. Mr. Phillimore is member for Leominster. At the late election, his antagonist was Mr. J. P. Willoughby, late Chief Secretary, and afterwards member of Council at Bombay, one of the ablest men in the Company's Civil Service. Mr. Phillimore is the author of some works held in high esteem by the legal profession, of which he is a distinguished member. He speaks fluently and well; but he wants moderation, and among the many virulent assailants of the Company, he is one of the most virulent. As a lawyer and a law-lecturer, it was fitting that he should undertake the judicial department of the great crusade against the Company. He undertook it; and what he did, he did vigorously. The ability of the member for Leominster is not to be disputed. The drift of his speech was, that in India there is no protection for life or property. He made much of Mr. Lewin's evidence, as if Mr. Lewin could be an impartial witness; and he dwelt, too, upon the evidence of Mr. Cameron, whom he is reported to have described as one of the ablest of the Company's Civil Servants! Mr. Norton's pamphlet was of course a text-book. In the hands of the Honorable Member for Leominster, "the thing became a trumpet." He quoted old

Zephaniah Holwell, to show what a paradise Bengal had been, before our connexion with it ; and then declared that the Company and their servants had “ depopulated whole territories.” “ I would call,” he said in conclusion, “ upon every member of this House, who loves righteousness, and hates oppression, who venerates eternal and immortal laws which are written in the heart of every man, be his climate or his colour what it may, by the unerring hand of our great Creator, to save this country from the consequences which, sooner or later, must follow the passing of such a measure.”

Then rose Sir James Hogg. His speech was rather a reply to what Mr. Bright had said on the first night of the debate, than to what had fallen from Mr. Phillimore. It was admitted by all men in the House, by the India Reformers no less than the supporters of the Ministry and the Company, to be an admirable and a telling speech. It was listened to with profound attention, and greeted with repeated cheers. It was earnest—argumentative—convincing. Above all, it was full of irrefutable facts. We do not think that there was a single point in Mr. Bright’s speech to which it was not a complete and demolishing reply. He began by commenting upon the course pursued by Bright and his associates, said that they complained of India being a sealed book, when everything relating to India was laid on the table of the house, but nobody cared to read it; then spoke of the necessity of immediate legislation. “ If the present system has worked well, if it has increased the happiness and prosperity of India, why then continue it. If you have discovered defects in its constitution and working, then remove them. If it has failed in discharging its sacred duties, and the great objects for which it was formed, why then, away with the instruments, and form another and a better Government.” Then he proceeded to show what the Government of India really is, what are the advantages of that system of double Government, which Mr. Bright had so vehemently condemned :—

The great and paramount benefit of double Government, I believe, in the opinion of all former Governments, and of the present as of previous Parliaments, is to keep the Government of India free from political bias or political influence. (Hear, hear.) And that system of double Government is the only means by which this great and paramount object can be accomplished. I ask if any other part of the British dominions has been free from political influence. I ask, since 1784, if it has ever been alleged that India has been subject to party or political influence. God knows there are imputations enough cast on the Court of Directors. Did any body ever cast that imputation on them? Was it ever suggested that they were influenced by party or political motives? Never; but whether rightly, or wrongly, they did what they thought was for the interests of India. A party feeling, a

party prejudice never enters their breasts. I may mention a recent instance, the recall of Lord Ellenborough by the Court of Directors—Lord Ellenborough was recalled by the twenty-four Directors unanimously—some nineteen or twenty of those Directors were friends and staunch supporters of the late Sir Robert Peel, whose Government was perhaps a little weakened by the Noble Lord's recall, but still the Directors would not permit themselves to be partizans, and did recall Lord Ellenborough under an imperious sense of duty. (Hear, hear.)

All this is greatly to the point. Nor is the following less pertinent to the question. The India Reform party had dis-coursed somewhat vaguely of the advantages of establishing a Government directly responsible to Parliament. But what has Parliament done for India, what does Parliament care about India?—Sir James Hogg asked whether what had been done for the country had been done by the Indian Government or the House of Commons:—

Now has this been the effort of India, aided by the Government of India, or has the House of Commons rendered it any assistance? I tell you, you have not, I tell you, the Court of Proprietors, that calumniated body, and the East India Company have, year after year, been petitioning your House to do justice to India, by taking away the discriminating duties. But they have petitioned in vain. Cotton goods and cotton manufactures were imported into India at five per cent., and the manufactures of India were brought into this country, it will scarcely be believed, at a duty of sixty-two per cent. I complain of nothing that India has suffered arising from free trade, of which I have always been an advocate, but I complain of every thing that India has suffered from artificial means, from undue protection. We applied for equal duties as to cotton, sugar, and rum; and we applied in vain. It was only the other day we were able to get these duties equalized, and I will show you the result of the equalization. And yet it is by a Committee of the House of Commons, which has retarded and kept back the prosperity and progress of India, I am told that country has not advanced with the celerity which might be expected.

And again, to the same point; the Honorable Baronet continued with telling emphasis—

Well, sir, this has been the case with India. Has England prospered during the time? Can England say that she has contributed to the wealth of India, but that India has not contributed to hers? In 1814, which was the first year of what, as regards India, was nick-named "free trade," when everything from England could go into India, and when nothing from India could come to England—that was the free trade for India. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) In 1814, the first year of that so-called free trade, the British cotton manufactures exported to the East Indies amounted to £ 109,487. In 1849-50, the last year I have, they had increased from £ 100,000 (and I am very glad they had) to £ 4,421,920! Has Manchester any reason to complain? (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Well—have the ship-owners any reason to complain? In 1834-35, the British shipping amounted to 220 vessels, consisting of 108,870 tons. In 1849-50, the vessels had increased to 425, and the tonnage to 252,153. Both the number of vessels and the amount of tonnage, therefore, had almost, within a

fraction, doubled in twenty years. Now, sir, let me ask where is that to be equalled? I should like any gentleman who follows me to show me any other part of the world where there has been such a rapid advance! Why, you do not even find that that country, to which the Honorable Member for Manchester ever bends his fond imagination, rivals that—you cannot find that in America!

The decay of our Indian manufactures is a subject frequently discoursed upon by Indian reformers. There is but one answer to be given to it. “Settle that with Mr. Bright.” *It is the rapacity of Manchester, not the rapacity of the East India Company, that impoverishes the Indian artizan.* Twenty years ago, Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, who was to the debates of 1833 very much what Sir James Hogg is to those of 1853 (the similarity of their antecedents is well known*) dwelt forcibly on this subject—declaring that in Dacca nine-tenths of the families who gained their livelihood by the cotton manufacture, had been thrown out of employ, by the protection afforded to the British manufactures. But we must return to Sir James Hogg’s speech, and reluctantly come to the peroration:—

Now, sir, I feel how unduly I have intruded upon the time and the attention of the House. I solicited their indulgence, and they have kindly and liberally granted it to me. I fear I have not repaid them by being as brief as I feel I ought to have been, but the subject is one of great importance,—the body with whom I am associated was assailed loudly, not only with mismanagement and errors of judgment, but even their motives and intentions were impugned. I do not complain of arraigning the acts of the East India Company—the acts of all public men are open to public canvass, and if they deserve it, to public condemnation. But I do complain of some insinuations which the Honorable Member this night has thrown upon the honesty and purity, and as I understand him, the intentions of the Court of Directors, and of the Government. It is not long ago since I heard an Honorable Member, a friend of my own, whom I value, and whom I have known boy and man, I refer to the Honorable Member for Poole, exclaim, “What sympathy can the Court of Directors have with the people in India?” I ask him, have they not a sacred duty to discharge? Why should he suppose that they are indisposed to discharge that duty? Let him say, if he pleases, that they are incapable and incompetent, but let him not say that they want disposition to do their duty. I would speak for myself. I proceeded to that country at an early period of life, in the service neither of the Crown nor of the Company, dependent solely upon my own exertions for my livelihood and my advancement. It pleased God to prosper my exertions, and I am indebted to that country for the competence which has enabled me to sit in the Great Council of England. I am devoted to India by every tie of gratitude and of affection, and I will tell my Honorable friend, that feelings like those are as likely to produce beneficial results to the people of India, as any doctrine of abstract philanthropy and benevolence.

* But Fergusson, on returning to India, preferred being Judge-Advocate. Hogg, who might have been Judge-Advocate, preferred being an Indian Director.

I will say for myself and for those with whom I have the honor to be associated, speaking personally, we care little as regards ourselves what may be the determination of Parliament, but our earnest wish and our anxious prayer is, that the Supreme Disposer of events may so direct your counsels, that you may select that form of Government, and those instruments to execute it, which are best calculated to insure the happiness of the people of India, and the sound Government of that great country.

The speech, received throughout with marked attention and repeated applause, was loudly cheered at its close. It was, indeed, a very able address—clearly and emphatically delivered—full of telling points—and, what is much better, full of undeniable facts. Young India felt its force; and reeled under the blow. More than one India Reformer, we are told, on leaving the House that night, admitted that the speech was a very able and telling speech, and that so far the debate had gone against them. But it must be admitted that the India Reform party are not wanting in that good English quality, *pluck*, and that they were just as eager to return to the charge, as though they had not been worsted at the outset.

The debate was resumed on the 9th of June by Mr. Blackett—one of the leaders of the Young India party, active too in other things, and a rising member of the House. He attacked the Company on the score of their financial business and condition; but did not confine himself to the subject of Finance. He endeavored to reply to the statements of Sir James Hogg, relative to the increase of revenue and the general commercial prosperity of the country, and among other extraordinary things, showing how dangerous it is to meddle with such a subject without an intimate previous acquaintance with it; he made the astonishing declaration, that “amongst the statistical matters given in the Appendix to the ‘Commons’ Report, is to be found a statement of the arrears of ‘land-tax, from which it appears that, during the sixteen years, ‘from 1834 to 1849 inclusive, these arrears amount to no less a ‘sum than £60,191,167.” He had added up the balances at the end of each of these separate years, and given the result of this addition as the gross amount which Government had failed to realize, not perceiving that the unrealized balance of one year was carried into the account of the next. So great an error as this naturally threw discredit on all the subsequent statistics of the party. The mistake was one into which a man, but little acquainted with the subject, diving into a mass of figures, with the one sole object of making out a case, and seizing without investigation on every ugly-looking thing in a series of tabular statements, might easily have fallen. But

it affords an apt illustration of the haste and presumption of the "Young India" party, and the manner in which the case against the Company was got up by the eager assailants of Leadenhall-street. Mr. Blackett was the Finance Minister of the Reform party, and this was the way in which he dealt with his subject. But he spoke of other matters too, of the judicial system, of the state of the country, of the patronage of the Court of Directors, and in vehemence and virulence was, by no means, behind Mr. Phillimore and Mr. Bright. The peroration of his speech contains, in a few words, the principles of his party:—

I object to the Bill, he said, because it seems most strangely to combine the contradictory disadvantages of precipitancy and delay. I object to it additionally because it continues a system of double Government, which pretends to multiply checks, but succeeds only in neutralizing responsibility, but most of all I object to it because it continues the East India Company as a permanent organ for the Government of India, and I must say that I am not better pleased with the Bill, because it leaves the Indian Government in that position, in which it may offer a screen to the proceedings of the minister, whom I wish to see made directly responsible to Parliament and to the people. Sir, be the share of influence, which the East India Company is permitted to retain, great or small, I am convinced that its continuance can only tend to retard progress, to foster nepotism, and to impede the elevation of the Native Indian race into a community of which England and Englishmen shall have reason to be proud.

Mr. Blackett was followed by Mr. Thomas Baring, the Chairman of the Indian Committee then sitting—a gentleman deservedly held in the highest repute. The tenor of his speech was eminently favorable to the Company; and he spoke with authority. He said that in his opinion the Committee ought to have been appointed earlier, but that considering the limited character of the Bill, and the paucity of topics to which it was addressed, he conceived that already there was sufficient information before the House. He contended therefore in favor of immediate legislation. And he consented to the introduction of the Bill, though he did not approve of all its clauses. He was for the retention, in all its leading features, of the existing system of Government, for the maintenance of the East India Company as an efficient barrier against the encroachment of party influences:—

I give my opinion, however presumptuous in me it must be to speak so, that I wish to see the Government of India not in the hands of the Crown, not in the hands of the Crown I say, uncontrolled by some other independent and different body, not in the hands of the Crown as we have seen our Colonies, and as we have seen our other possessions. I wish to see such a body subservient to the ultimate will of the Crown, a body so constituted as to be independent of political prejudices, of political

opinions, and not to earn its position by committing its services to any minister. Sir, I say nothing as to any one political Government more than another. But this I say that, if we did not keep any independent check upon the acts of the Crown in India, we should see that for some party purpose, that for some party object, for some ephemeral and momentary party triumph, the security of India and its good government would be made a secondary object.

Then he referred to the Crown Colonies in proof of the danger of making the Government of our distant dependencies the Government of party :— *

I would ask the House, he said, to look at what has occurred in other colonies or dependencies of England—look at Jamaica—look at Ceylon—look at the West Indies—look at the Cape of Good Hope—look at Australia. Is there any body, who will say, calmly, looking back upon our party struggles in this House, that each colonial Government, that the Government of each dependency, has not been bandied about from both sides of the scale, flying like a shuttle-cock, to be kept in the air as long as it can answer a party-purpose? Sir, I wish to guard against that. I wish to keep India. I do not deny that I wish to see India continue to belong to England, because I do not wish to see our Empire dismembered. I do not wish to see the power of England shaken. I do not wish to see its influence diminished; because I believe that that influence has not only tended to the welfare and glory of the British nation, but has tended to the expansion of the civilization and freedom of the world. I say then, keep India—keep her by good government—keep her by guarding her against herself, and those who may be dangerous within her; and you can only do that by keeping her out of the vortex of party politics—you can only do that by maintaining such a body as the Court of Directors, whose election is independent of the Crown.

This is well and strikingly put, and wholly to the point. It cannot be too often, or too emphatically repeated.

There are other passages in Mr. Baring's able and statesmanlike address, which we are tempted to quote, but we must reluctantly pass on. The next speaker was Mr. Danby Seymour. Mr. Danby Seymour is member for Poole, and President of the India Reform Society. He is a young man of good family, large fortune, considerable enthusiasm, and excellent abilities. He is quite above all sinister influences. We believe him to be actuated by a sincere desire to benefit the people of India. But he has studied India in the worst possible school. He has learnt in the Russian camp, on the frontier where the troops of the Autocrat have been so long endeavoring to crush the liberties of the brave Circassians, the exaggerated lessons taught by Count Edward De Warren. His own account of his Eastern experiences is given in the exordium of his speech :—

Now, sir, upon the question of the East, I certainly do feel very deeply, and I feel for those nations, who, I think, have been for so many centuries

so much ill-treated by their European conquerors ; and as to the line of policy which should be taken, I have had an opportunity of observing the success of the two lines of policy, fear and love, which, perhaps, has not been enjoyed by any other gentleman in this house. I have had the advantage of passing between two and three years in the Russian-Asiatic possessions, both while the old system, which we are still determined to pursue, was in existence, and when there was a new system introduced by a most distinguished statesman, and, perhaps, the most able administrator of his time in Europe, which was introduced ten years ago, and which has increased Russian influence to an immense degree throughout the whole of Asia, and has been crowned with the greatest success. When I first went to the Caucasus, the native of Turkey and Persia, and the other nations of the Caucasus (for there are nearly fifty nations there) were treated very much as we treat the people of India ; and I know that the possessions of Russia were then continually said to rest upon a volcano, and there was the greatest discontent, which it was considered necessary to have a large army in order to keep down. Only a year before I went to that country, I remember that so careful had been the organization of conspiracies there, that they were prepared to assassinate the whole of the Russian authorities in the capital, and the information as to the conspiracy was received the week before, not from any part of the country where it was to take place, but from St. Petersburg. Now, sir, when I went there, I had the advantage of the constant company of the man who governed the whole of the provinces from Poland to Persia, and who showed that enlightened policy in the treatment of those nations, which I wish our Government would imitate : and I have constantly kept up my communication with it, and I have heard that that policy has been eminently successful. I have myself heard, having lived much with the natives of all those countries, that so much were they in praise of it, that although they dislike dominion of any sort, yet any one of them would give up their lives for its support. Now, sir, at this time Russia and ourselves are competitors for the East ; and I do say, and the nations of Asia and Hindostan will know likewise, that they have a great deal more to hope for from Russia with her present policy, than from England, with that policy which the Right Hon'ble gentleman advocates.

Having thus stated what were his claims to the attention of the House, he flung himself headlong upon the speeches of Sir James Hogg and Sir Charles Wood. He said that the former had recommended the India Reform party to study the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committees, and all the Indian Blue Books published during the last twenty years. "But," said Mr. Seymour, "what should we profit by this, seeing that 'the Committees are packed Committees, and the Blue Books 'only collections of garbled papers ?'" "I will just quote," he continued, "in proof of this, what Mr. Kaye, in his *History of the War in Afghanistan*, says of the way in which state papers 'are treated, and what is the reason that no man in his senses 'can possibly put any confidence in papers which come from 'the Government or the East India Company.'" In the *Times* report, Mr. Seymour is made to say, that "no man in his

' senses could put any confidence in papers that came from the East India Company." But, in either case, Mr. Seymour should have known that the East India Company had no more to do with the garbling of the Afghanistan papers than the India Reform party itself. Of that iniquity the Court of Directors are clearly guiltless. In other instances, too, it appears to us that Mr. Seymour did not bring his reading, which seems to have been considerable, into very effective use. He quoted Macaulay (who wrote of the year 1763) against the Company, and he quoted Burke against the Company. Then he quoted Mr. Kaye's recent volume, to the effect that "the servants of the Company had, for nearly two centuries, regarded the natives of India, as so many dark-faced and dark-souled gentiles, whom it was their Mission to over-reach in business, and to overcome in war." "There," exclaimed Mr. Seymour, "is a pretty picture of this paternal Government!" Now, it seems that Mr. Kaye *did* write the words quoted, but why did he write them? To show what improvements had taken place in the character of the Company's servants, and what progress in their administration. For "nearly two centuries," he said, these had been the views—this the conduct of the Company's servants, but how different has it been during the *last half-century*! What progress has been made since the days when we only thought of subduing and despoiling the people! We repeat that all only weakens the cause, which "Young India" desires to advocate. Mr. Seymour complains, properly, of the garbling of public papers, but can there be any worse garbling than that of which he and his associates have been guilty?

We hope that we shall not be misunderstood. The Government of India, like all other Governments, requires reform. A Reform Association—that is, a society of able and earnest-minded members of Parliament, studying the Indian question, without passion and without prejudice, in all its bearings, and watching the progress of Indian affairs with calm clear eyes, is very much what India wants. But India does *not* want the help of a Reform Association, saturated and sodden with prejudice, and incapable of viewing the India question with any but a jaundiced eye. If the India Reform party had been more moderate, they would have achieved more. What we complain of is, that their intemperance and exaggeration have discredited the cause of Indian reform, and will throw grievous obstacles in the way of future wiser reformers.

Now, Mr. Hume, as all the world knows, is a veteran reformer. He is not likely to be unduly prejudiced in favor of

the authorities that be. But what is his language? He admits that there are defects in the present system, but he says that we shall only make the system worse by extending the power of the Crown. The Crown ministers, he says, have spent all the money—impoverished the country, and retarded the progress of domestic improvement. What can be more truthful than this?—

Sir, I say, that but for the wars which unfortunately have occurred, India would have had a surplus revenue every year from 1833 to this time—some of these wars have been injudiciously commenced, and the continuation of war might have been prevented by allowing to the Court of Directors that check and control which, by law, they ought to have. The Court of Directors, however, have been kept in ignorance of many of the most important circumstances connected with these wars. Mr. Melville, the Secretary to the Court of Directors, has stated that the Affghan war, which cost several millions of money, was begun and ended before the Court of Directors received one iota of information concerning it. I asked Mr. Melville when did the Court first know of the Affghan war? When were the papers submitted to them? Was their opinion taken? No, said the Secretary, we never had the papers connected with the Affghan war till it was brought to a termination. That disposed of thirteen millions of money. The Court of Proprietors, having their dividends dependent on the Court of Directors, have had their interest sacrificed. I do not believe there is one single man in the Court of Directors who would have approved of the Affghan war. That war was begun, continued, and ended before the Court of Directors knew anything about it. Sir, I say by the wars that have occurred in India, no less than twenty-six millions of money have been wasted by the Board of Control, over which the Board of Directors had no power whatever, although they were made, by the Act of Parliament, trustees for the Proprietors, to see to the payment of the dividends. The dividends have been paid by them, although I doubt very much whether they ought to have been, there being no surplus revenue in consequence of the debt that has been incurred. It is quite clear that the Court of Directors has violated the Act of Parliament in paying the dividends. India has, in fact, been ruined by wars, and it ought not to be permitted to any single man to have the power of involving the country in war.

The speech of Mr. Hume, from which this passage was taken, was the last delivered on the third night of the opening debate. Leave was then given to bring in the Bill. And this will be the proper place to present an abstract of it, for purposes of record:—

After a preamble, stating that the Act 3 and 4, Will. IV., C. 85 having continued the territories therein mentioned under the Government of the East India Company until the 30th April, 1854, and it being expedient now to provide for the Government of these territories after the expiration of that term, the first clause ordains that *until Parliament shall otherwise provide*, the territories now under the Government of the East India Company shall continue under that Government, and that all the provisions and laws now in force shall continue in force, excepting in so far as they are altered by or are repugnant to this Act. The second clause

ordains, that from and after the second Wednesday in April, 1854, there shall be eighteen Directors and no more of the said Company, who, or any ten or more of whom, shall constitute a Court of Directors.

Clause III. is to the effect that Her Majesty shall appoint three Directors, to hold office for two, four and six years respectively, from the 2nd Wednesday in April, 1854, every Director so appointed, and every Director henceforth to be appointed by Her Majesty under this Act, to be a person who has been for ten years in India in the service of the Crown or of the Company.

The fourth clause ordains that the present Directors, with those who went out in 1853, shall, on the last Wednesday in March, 1854, appoint fifteen from amongst themselves, who, with the three to be appointed by Her Majesty, shall be the first Directors under this Act. Of these fifteen, five are to be appointed for two years, five for four, and five for six years.

The fifth and sixth clauses ordain, that the first three casual vacancies that occur among the fifteen shall be filled up by the Crown; that every vacancy that occurs among those nominated by the Crown shall be filled up by the Crown, and that after the first three vacancies, the vacancies that occur among those not appointed by Her Majesty shall be filled by election by the General Court of the Company, in the manner in which Directors are now elected.

Clause VII. provides that every Director of either class shall be appointed for six years, and that those who are appointed to fill up vacancies caused by the voidance of Directorships otherwise than by the expiration of the terms of office of the Directors, shall be appointed only for the unexpired portion of those Directors' terms of office: also, that all Directors are capable of immediate re-election.

Clause VIII. directs that elections shall be held by the General Court on the second Wednesday of April in every alternate year.

Clause IX. ordains, that of the first fifteen Directors, six at least shall be men who have served ten years in India, and that the Court-elected Directors shall always contain six men who have thus served, so that of the whole eighteen, there shall always be twelve who have been for this length of time in India; and when, at any time, this number shall be fallen short of, no man, who has not been in India for the specified period, can be elected until the number be made up.

The tenth clause provides that a Crown-nomination to a Directorship shall not preclude its holder from sitting in Parliament, and that the Directors so nominated cannot be removed from their office save by Her Majesty, for inability or misbehaviour.

Clause XI. provides, that after the second Wednesday of April, those of the thirty present Directors and ex-directors, who shall not be appointed Directors under the new Act, shall cease to be Directors—that vacancies which may occur in the mean time among the twenty-four present Directors, shall not be filled up, and that in all cases, where the presence, signatures, consent, or concurrence of thirteen out of the twenty-four are required by the present Charter, the presence, signatures, consent or concurrence of a majority of those remaining after such vacancies shall be sufficient.

Clause XII. prescribes the form of oath to be taken by Directors on assumption of office. These twelve clauses, therefore, relate to the constitution of the Court of Directors.

The thirteenth prescribes that a general Court may be "counted out" (after the transaction of such business as may be required by any Act of Parliament, or any Bye-Law of the Company to be transacted at such

Court) provided there be not twenty Proprietors present, exclusive of Directors.

The fourteenth clause directs that the provisions of the Charter Act, for the division of the Presidency of Fort William into two Presidencies, which were suspended by a subsequent Act of Parliament, shall continue to be suspended until the Court of Directors and Board of Control shall otherwise direct, and that during such continued suspension, the provisions for the appointment of a Lieut: Governor for the N. W. Provinces shall continue in force.

Clause XV. authorizes the appointment of a separate Governor for the Presidency of Fort William, such Governor to be appointed as the Governors of Madras and Bombay are now appointed; and in the meantime a Lieut: Governor may be appointed for the Lower Provinces, from amongst those who have been ten years in the Company's service.

The sixteenth clause gives the Court of Directors, with the sanction of the Board of Control, power to create a new Presidency, and to assign territories to it.

Clause XVII. gives them powers from time to time to alter the limits of the Presidencies and Lieut: Governorships.

Clause XVIII. directs that such new presidency shall be subject to the same regulations, as to the appointment and recall of Governors, &c., as the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay now are.

Clause XIX. ordains that every appointment to the office of member of any of the Councils, shall be subject to the approbation of Her Majesty, and Clause XX. puts the fourth ordinary member of the Supreme Council on the same footing with the other members of that Council.

Clause XXI. appoints legislative members of the Supreme Council as follows, viz., one member for each Presidency and Lieut: Governorship, to be nominated by the Governors or Lieut: Governors from amongst the Civil Servants of the Company who have served ten years; the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Bengal; and one of the other judges of that Court to be named by the Governor-General; and two other Civil Servants if the Court of Directors and the Board of Control shall deem it expedient, to be nominated by the Governor-General.

Clause XXII. gives the Governor-General power to appoint a Vice-President of the Council, and provides that a quorum of the Legislative Council shall consist of the Governor-General or Vice-President and seven other members of Council, of whom the Chief Justice, or the fourth ordinary member of Council, must be one.

Clause XXIII. ordains that no law passed by this Council shall have force till it has received the assent of the Governor-General.

Clause XXIV. requires that the new Council shall be summoned to meet within six months of the passing of this Act.

Clause XXV. authorizes Her Majesty to appoint Commissioners in England to consider and report on the Reforms proposed by the Indian Law Commissioners.

Clause XXVI. makes the appointment of Advocate General subject to the approbation of the Board of Control.

Clause XXVII. makes the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces in India and in the several Presidencies to be Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in India and in these Presidencies.

Clause XXVIII. raises the maximum of the Company's European forces in India from 12,200 to 20,000 men, and the number of Non-Commissioned Officers and men that they may have in training in Great Britain from 2,000 to 4,000.

Clause XXIX. gives power to the Court of Directors, with the sanction of the Board of Control, to alter the sick-leave and furlough regulations.

Clauses XXX. and XXXI. direct that the salary of the President of the Board of Control, to be paid by the Company, shall not be less than the salary of one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and that only one of the Secretaries of the Board can sit in Parliament; that the salary of the Commander-in-Chief in India, and of each Lieutenant-Governor shall be Rupees 1,00,000 annually; that of each Ordinary Member of the Council of India, Rupees 80,000; and that of each Legislative Councillor (not holding any other office) Rupees 50,000.

Clauses XXXII. and XXXIII. deprive the Court of Directors of the power of nominating students to Haileybury and Assistant Surgeons, and direct that such appointments shall be made on examination, according to regulations to be framed by the Board of Control.

Clause XXXIV. prescribes the same as to admittance to Addiscombe.

Clause XXXIV. and XXXV. give the Board power to prescribe the age at which such admissions may take place, and the standard of qualifications of such students, and of Assistant Surgeons.

Clause XXXVII. gives the Board power to examine persons appointed to the Military Service, who have not passed through Addiscombe; and Clause XXXVIII. prohibits the Company from admitting into their Civil, Military, or Medical Services, any but those who may be found qualified for admission under the regulations.

Clause XXXIX. gives the Board power to appoint examiners; and Clause XL. appoints that this Act, save as herein otherwise expressly provided, commence and take effect on the 30th April, 1854.

It is not ordinarily the case, that on bringing in a Bill, there is so much discussion on its principles. *The debate* is generally the debate on the *second reading*. But on this occasion, the subject was well nigh exhausted before the Bill had been brought in. Indeed, after, or even before, the interest seemed to wane. We are informed that at one period of the third night's debate, the house was so thin, that if it had been counted, it would have narrowly escaped a count-out. And this is the Parliament to which the Indian Government is to be made directly responsible—a Parliament which has not patience to sit out a three nights' debate on the principles and practice of Indian Government!

It has been our object, in this article, not to enter into the details of the new India Bill. There are some at least of them which we shall reserve for future discussion. We shall not, therefore, here trace its progress through the second reading; or through Committee. We have well nigh exhausted both our time and our space. What we have attempted to do is to show the principles upon which it was discussed, and the temper which was brought to its discussion.

The debate on the second reading evolved little that had not, in some shape, been said before. The difference was that

here *party* stepped in, and that the assailants of Government were less the India reformers than Lord Stanley and some of his protectionist friends. But the party were disunited. Some of D'Israeli's old colleagues turned against him, and the overwhelming majority with which the second reading was carried, in spite of the alliance between Young India and protection, indicated the extreme decrepitude of the wreck of the old protection party.

In Committee, several attempts were made to amend the Bill. We believe that the amendments proposed by Mr. Vernon Smith and others would really have been improvements. We cannot now speak of those which were not carried. But having given the substance of the India Bill, as it was originally drafted, we must make brief allusion to some of the alterations which were accomplished on its passage through Committee.

The clause relative to the qualification of Directors was amended. Instead of £2,000 stock, it is necessary only that the Director should hold £1,000 stock. The clause as amended runs thus:—

X. Notwithstanding the provision of the Charter of the tenth year of King William the Third, any person shall be deemed, so far as respects the possession of stock of the said Company, to be qualified to be chosen or appointed, and to continue a Director of the said Company under this Act, who shall have in his own name, and in his own right, and to his own use, one thousand pounds or more in the capital stock of the said Company; and all enactments and all provisions of any Charter or Bye-law having reference to the qualification of a Director, shall be construed as if the said sum of one thousand pounds were substituted therein, and in the said Charter of King William the Third, for the sum of two thousand pounds; and in the case of any such Director appointed by Her Majesty, it shall be sufficient if, before he shall act as such Director, he shall have such qualification in the said capital stock as is required under this Act, although he may not have the same at the time of his appointment; and every person who shall be hereafter elected or appointed a Director of the said Company shall, before he shall act as such Director, make the following declaration:—

"I, A. B., do declare, that the sum of one thousand pounds now standing in my name of the stock of the East India Company, belongs to me, in my own right, and not in trust for any other person or persons whatsoever."

The only other amendment or addition to which we purpose to allude, is the following, relative to the salt-duties, the result of Sir John Pakington's motion, which was carried by a combination of the protectionists and India reformers:—

XLV. And whereas by the said Act of the third and fourth years of King William the Fourth, it was enacted, "that the said Company shall, with all convenient speed, after the twenty-second day of April, one

thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, close their commercial business, and make sale of all their merchandize, stores and effects, at home and abroad, distinguished in their account books as commercial assets, and all their warehouses, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and property whatsoever, which may not be retained for the purposes of Government of the said territories, and get in all debts due to them on account of the commercial branch of their affairs, and reduce their Commercial establishment as the same shall become unnecessary, and discontinue and abstain from all commercial business which shall not be incident to the closing of their actual concerns, and to the conversion into money of the property herein before directed to be sold, or which shall not be carried on for the purposes of the said Government." And whereas the said East India Company have continued to carry on the manufacture and sale of salt from the date of the said Act to the present time, notwithstanding the aforesaid provision. And whereas it is expedient that the salt monopoly should absolutely cease and determine. Be it enacted, that from and after the first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and fifty six, it shall be unlawful for the said East India Company to continue the manufacture of salt as at present carried on by them in the Province of Bengal, and that such manufacture shall absolutely cease, whether carried on by the East India Company, or on the account and under the control of the said Company, and that the manufacture and sale of salt in India shall be absolutely free, subject only to such excise or other duties as may now, or from time to time, be levied upon such salt so manufactured.

And now, before we conclude, a few words about the general character of the new India Bill. The question to be considered is simply this. Is India likely to be better governed under the Act of 1854, than under that of 1834? The actual solution of this question is in the womb of time. The conjectural solution it is not difficult to hazard. Now, the main alterations are: firstly, in the constitution of the Court of Directors; secondly, in the system according to which the members of the Civil Service are henceforth to be appointed; and, thirdly, in the erection of Bengal into a separate Lieutenant-Governorship. Of the last of these little need be said. We consider that no reasonable argument can be adduced against the proposed change. There is everything to be said in its favor, and little or nothing against it. The local administration of India will be greatly improved under the proposed system. The arrangement which placed the Government of so important a part of India, under the senior member of the Supreme Council, whether a soldier or a civilian, whether competent or incompetent for such a charge, which transferred the province from hand to hand, according to circumstances, had nothing to recommend it. That no great harm has been done by these frequent changes, is principally to be attributed to the excellence of the Secretariat. But it is no defence of a bad

system that accidentally it has done no great harm. A good permanent Lieutenant-Governor is a better thing than a good permanent Secretary. Mr. Halliday, for many years, was the prop of the *old* system. But he will confer much more substantial benefits on Bengal under the *new*.

We may pass over, then, this change in the local administration, with these few approving remarks. We cannot speak in the same terms of approbation of the changes in the Home Government. We have already expressed incidentally our opinions regarding the mutilation of the Court of Directors. Believing, as we do, that the maintenance of the independence of the Court in all its original integrity is essential to the good Government of India, we greatly deplore the change. We admit the truth of the oft-repeated statement that the best men are not always elected by the Court of Proprietors. We admit that many very distinguished men have been deterred from offering themselves for election by their abhorrence of the canvass. We have already, indeed, expressed our opinion upon this subject; and expressing it, we have suggested the expediency of introducing into the Court a certain number, say one-third, of nominated Directors. But it was our opinion then, as it is now, that these Directors, thus exempted from the penalties of the canvass, should be nominated by the Court, that is, that every third vacancy should be filled up by internal election. This opinion seems to have been shared by a considerable section of the House of Commons. But the supporters of the Ministry, aided by the India Reformers, were too strong for the independent members, and the clause conferring the power of nomination upon the Crown ministers was carried. This, as we have said, appears to be a step in the wrong direction, a step backward. Sir James Graham, with an indiscretion censured even by some of his best friends, admitted that the object of the change was to introduce the small end of the wedge, that it is to take the first step towards the entire absorption of the East India Company. We do not argue the matter upon these grounds. The absorption of the Company has not yet been determined upon. It is to exist, but maimed, mutilated, and impaired. The ministerial element is to be strengthened in the Home Government of India. The barrier between India and party, which is now the safe-guard of the country, is to be attenuated and debilitated, in the prospect of its falling down bodily. If the ultimate object of the change be, as implied by Sir James Graham, utterly to destroy the

Court, there was some astuteness, whatever honesty there may have been, in thus initiating a measure, which being calculated to impair the efficiency and utility of the body, will probably, in due course of time, afford materials for a true Bill to be brought against it. It is clear, however, that if the Queen's minister, not seeing any just grounds now for extinguishing the Court, should, some years hence, declare that it so inefficiently performs its duties as to warrant its extinction, that very inefficiency which seals its doom will be attributable to the Crown ministers themselves. What a comment will this be on the boasted reform of the Court!

There is no reason to doubt that, in the first instance, the members nominated by the Ministry will be able and independent men. The names of the first batch of ministerial nominees have been freely mentioned ; and we can hardly doubt that if the selection had been left to the Court of Directors, the same men would have been named. But we have no guarantee for this purity of nomination, when the subject is no longer fresh in the public mind, and the eyes of the community are no longer fixed intently upon the selecting ministers. That the power of selection may be made, and that some day it will be made, a political lever, there is little room to doubt. Such men as Sir George Pollock and Mr. Millett, whether elected by the Proprietors, by the Court of Directors, or by the Crown minister, are little likely to become mere tools. They have no connexion with party. They are above all political influences. But the principle once established, the system of ministerial nomination once fully in force, we have little hope that the ministers of the day will continually rise above all considerations of party—that they will look only to personal efficiency, and appoint the best men, without a thought of the services which the ministerial nominees may render to the ministers in return. At all events, whatever may be the working of the new arrangement, we must protest against the principle involved in the change. It cannot be too often, or too emphatically declared, that the efficiency of the Indian Government is dependent on its freedom from party influences. Make the Government of India a Government by party, and, alas for the country !—alas, for the people !

Upon the clause by which the whole Covenanted Civil Service is to be thrown open to public competition, we do not purpose to discourse in detail. The subject is so large a one, so interesting, and important, that we must reserve it for consideration in a separate article, when we have before us the regula-

tions and restrictions under which candidates are to be admitted to compete for these valuable appointments. We have seen, with unmixed gratification, that the amendment proposed by Mr. Monckton Milnes was successful, inasmuch as the competition clause, in so far as it related to the military seminary at Addiscombe, was expunged from the Bill. This is the best thing that was done in Committee. No one had a word to say against the Addiscombe system. No one could say that the officers of the Company's Engineers and Artillery regiments are surpassed by those of any service in the world. What object there could possibly be in attempting to improve a system in which no one had discovered any defects, it is impossible to conjecture. The attempt can only be regarded as a weak concession to the clamors of the reform party. It was expedient, in order to appease this clamor, that the Company's power and the Company's privileges should be cut down, and so it was determined that the most valuable portion of their patronage should be taken from them, without any reference to the effect of the change upon the efficiency of the public service. But when the subject of the Addiscombe patronage came to be fairly discussed, it was found that no one had anything to say against the existing system, and so ministers wisely determined to amend the clause, and to leave intact the system which has produced the finest set of officers in the world.

We purpose only to say a few words more in the present article. It will have been observed by all who have perused, from first to last, the debates in the Commons, that the whole question of our connexion with India has been regarded and discussed in any thing but a broad and comprehensive point of view, that the tone assumed has not been elevated and dignified, that there has been nothing like an indication of an enlarged desire to regenerate the teeming millions of this great and interesting country. We do not object to the practicability of the debates. Vague generalities would have been greatly out of place at such a time and on such an occasion. But there is a practicability in great matters, as well as in small; and we do not see that the real wants of India have yet been taken into account. There have been some passing allusions to the great subject of education. But it has never been a substantive topic of debate. Little has been said about it. Nothing has been done. But the real want of India is a great scheme of education. It is something, doubtless, to improve the administrative machinery of our Indian Empire, but, after all, what

is good Government until the people of the country are in a condition to profit by it? The great obstacle to the success of our administrative experiments resides in the ignorance and debasement of the people.

ERRATA IN ART. I.

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
13	9 of notes	800 A. D.	300 A. D.
19	18 of text	Jyâd	Iyâd.
21	26 ditto	fortress,.....	fortresses,
22	6 of notes	Zenobias, general in Egypt, Zenobia's general in Eg.,t,	
23	2 of text	Adis	Adi.
24	6 of notes	dole the first <i>and</i>	
26	20 of text	seat	sect
27	38 ditto	Hinda	Kinda
32	20 ditto	tribulation	retribution
34	10 of notes	Liquieu	Lequien
37	7 of text	Hassân Abu Thâbit	Hassân ibn Thâbit
40	3 of notes		ابي
45	12 of text	after <i>even</i> insert <i>then</i>	
46	6 of notes	her son	his son
"	19 ditto		ابطاح
47	18 ditto	tribes.....	the tribes
51	2 ditto	Hodzeifa the First,.....	Hodzeifa, the first
53	12 ditto	Ain Shams	Ain Shams
54	6 of text	Ameor	Amr
"	11 of notes	Morât	Monât
57	20 of text	Atlantic	Aelanitic

